GRANT ALLEN'S
HISTORICAL GUIDES

UMBRIAN TOWNS

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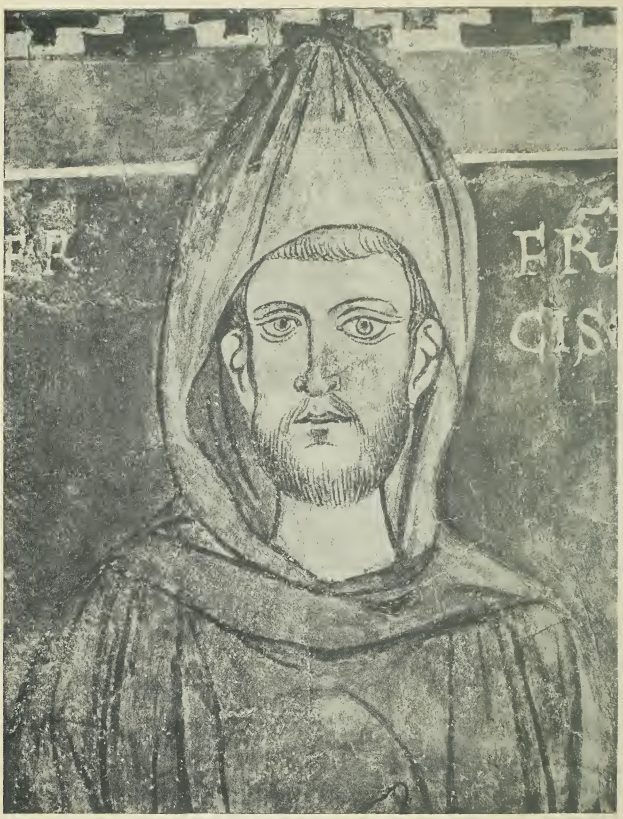
THE UMBRIAN TOWNS



Photograph: Alinari

S. FRANCIS

(From a Fresco at Subiaco)

Supposed to have been painted in 1222

GRANT ALLEN'S HISTORICAL GUIDES

THE UMBRIAN TOWNS

BY

J. W. & A. M. CRUICKSHANK

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PREFACE

THE compilers of the following pages deeply regret that Mr Grant Allen, who planned this series of Guide-Books, should not have lived to develop his ideas under his own hand. They had the privilege of seeing him at work upon the Guide to Venice, and had some opportunity of recognising the brilliant powers of observation, and the masterly skill in clear and simple exposition which he brought to bear upon the subject. Although they have been able only very imperfectly to appreciate and follow his example, they think it may be for the convenience of readers to summarise the aims originally in view.

The book is not intended to take the place of such guides as those of Baedeker or Murray. It does not give information about the details of travel, nor does it notice all monuments irrespective of their merit or interest. In dealing with collections, the object has not been to furnish a catalogue, but to indicate the matters of essential interest, and, so far as is possible, to suggest the reason for this interest. An attempt has been made to give just enough historical tradition to enable the traveller to create for himself an atmosphere suitable to the objects which he is engaged in studying, and sufficiently detailed to suggest the place which they take in the general development of human interests.

Two points of view present themselves in regard to all that we see—the manner of the doing of the thing, and the object with which it has been done. The one is the point of view of the artist ; the other that of the student of human nature. An endeavour has been made to appreciate the monuments from both points of view.

It has been thought to be most courteous to those who

use this book to express opinions quite frankly; but no authority is claimed, and particularly where the sphere of the experts may have been trespassed on, nothing more is intended than a suggestion for the traveller, to be used as a starting-point for his own observations.

An attempt has been made to note sources of information and opportunities for observation which exist in this country. In the National Gallery and at South Kensington much may be done to prepare the way for enjoying foreign travel. Lists of books have been given which deal with the objects the traveller is most likely to have in view. References also have been inserted to the collections of Italian photographs that have done so much for students, and also to the copies of paintings now in the National Gallery, from which the reproductions of the Arundel Society were made. A collection of photographs of the most important objects can be easily obtained from London agents, or direct from the dealers in Italy, and if these are studied before the journey is made, they will be found to add to the significance and the interest of travelling. The compilers are conscious that errors and misconceptions will be found, and they will value the corrections which fellow-students and travellers may be able to send them, to the care of the publisher.

They desire also to express their acknowledgment of the assistance they have received from Miss Katharine Wilson, who accompanied them upon the journey. In the work of observation as well as of revision, they are greatly indebted to her helpful insight.

It has been said above that there is no intention to give information about the detail of travel, but as the question of accommodation is more difficult in the smaller towns with which this volume deals than in larger places such as Florence and Rome, it has been thought best to add a note on hotels. In Perugia the Hotel Brufani gives accommodation of the best kind, and such as is suitable to all English-speaking travellers. In Assisi the hotels have been adapted to most of the requirements of modern times. In Spoleto

and Orvieto the hotels are Italian in character, but the proprietors are quite alive to the wants of foreign visitors. They are most anxious to do all they can, and the most careful attention may be relied upon. At Gubbio the hotel is primitive in character, but the same goodwill and desire to be useful will be found to exist.

HOW TO USE THESE GUIDE-BOOKS

THE portions of this book intended to be read at leisure at home before proceeding to explore each town or monument are enclosed in brackets [*thus*]. *The portion relating to each principal object should be quietly read and digested before a visit, and referred to again afterwards. The portion to be read on the spot is made as brief as possible, and is printed in large legible type so as to be easily read in the dim light of churches, chapels, and galleries. The key-note words are printed in bold type to catch the eye. Where objects are numbered the numbers used are always those of the latest official catalogues.*

See little at a time, and see it thoroughly. Never attempt to "do" any place or monument. Individual works of exceptional merit are distinguished by an asterisk, and when any work of art has been unusually stimulating, it is an advantage to buy a photograph for comparison with the artist's work elsewhere or with analogous monuments in other places. Nothing is noticed in this book which does not seem to have some character rendering it worthy of attention, for its own sake, or for comparison with other works of art.

These guides do not profess to supply practical information.

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THE UMBRIAN TOWNS

INTRODUCTORY HISTORICAL NOTE ON UMBRIA

THE Umbrians have been generally regarded as among the most ancient of the races in Italy, and at one time their territory was widely extended.

Successive waves of conquest, however, gradually forced them from the valley of the Po and from the coasts of the Adriatic.

The first conquerors that we know of as limiting the Umbrian boundaries were of Etruscan race. This people settled throughout a large part of Central Italy, from Lombardy in the north to Campania in the south. Such ancient centres of life as Orvieto and Perugia are full of evidence of Etruscan life, and their remains are widely spread throughout Umbria.

The close connection between the two peoples is of importance in the history of Central Italy, for the Etruscans were the most advanced, and the most highly civilised, of all the contending races in the country.

The next limitation of Umbria was the result of the Celtic invasion of Italy in the fourth century B.C. The Celts advanced along the Adriatic coast from the north, while tribes of Italian origin coming from the south established themselves on the same coast, and thus the Umbrians were confined to the inland and mountainous parts of the country. They ceased to be a powerful people, and offered but a feeble defence against invasion.

In 396 B.C., the capture of the Etruscan city of Veii, some eleven miles from Rome, opened the way for the advance of the Republic into Central Italy, and within the next

hundred years the power of Rome was established throughout Umbria. In 309 B.C., the Etruscans and their allies were defeated at the Vadimonian Lake, near the modern town of Orte ; and in 296 B.C., a still more crushing defeat was inflicted on the Etruscans, Celts, Samnites, and Umbrians at Sentinum, near the modern Sassoferrato.

One of the most important results of the Roman conquest was the making of the Flaminian Way in the year 220 B.C. This road stretched from Rome to Rimini, passing Narni, Nocera, Cagli, the Furlo Pass, Fossombrone, and Fano ; there was also a branch leading to Ancona. By this means the upland valleys of the Apennines were connected on the one hand with the capital, and on the other with the seaports of the Adriatic. The busy traffic of this great highway led to the development of many towns on its route, and to the prosperity of places such as Spoleto, Trevi, Foligno, and Spello.

The Roman province of Umbria included Central Italy east of the Tiber, with a coast-line on the Adriatic extending roughly from Rimini to Ancona ; to the north it included the upper valley of the Arno known as the Casentino, and to the south the river Nar divided it from the Sabine country.

During the time of the Social War, B.C. 90, Umbria and Etruria did not join in the rising of the Italian allies against Rome ; the people of both nations received the Roman franchise.

In the long warfare between the Imperial power of Rome and the Barbarians during the fifth and sixth centuries of our era, the province of Umbria shared the fate of the rest of Italy. The siege of Perugia, in which the town was attacked by the Gothic King Totila and defended by the Bishop S. Ercolano, and the great defeat of King Totila by Narses, the General of the Emperor Justinian, near Gualdo, are incidents which connect Umbria with the history of this great struggle. It was not until the Lombard conquest of Italy in A.D. 568 that the province had any individual importance. Under the new conquerors the country was divided into a number of dukedoms ; one of the principal

of these had its capital at Spoleto and included a large part of Umbria.

The Lombards were nearly always at feud with the Pope. They were far more barbarous enemies than the Goths, and as their power grew the position of the Roman See became intolerable. In the middle of the eighth century the power of the Frankish rulers of German and Gaulish lands had become vested in the Arnulfings or Karlings, a family of great personal distinction and capacity. It was from Pippin, King of the Franks, that Pope Stephen begged for help against the Lombards. The King crossed the Alps and defeated the enemies of the Pope in 755, and it is said that the Frankish conqueror granted or confirmed to the Pope possession of large territory, mainly in Central Italy. When Pippin's son Charles completed the conquest of the Lombards in 774, the donation previously made is supposed to have been confirmed, and thus the Pope became possessor of a title which was never relinquished, although many generations passed away before it was effectually enforced.

The Frankish conquest of Northern and Central Italy involved a strengthening of barbarian influence. Margraves and Counts formed the chiefs of a landed aristocracy founded on feudal ideals at variance with those of the municipal society of Greece and Rome.

In the year 800 the Pope crowned Charles as Emperor; and thus we find throughout mediæval Italian history a Teutonic Emperor and a feudal aristocracy set against a Pope and the dwellers in towns, representatives, for the most part, of the traditions of Roman civilisation.

From time to time these Teutonic Emperors crossed the Alps and exercised a disturbing influence on Italian politics; nevertheless, the most permanent and persistent forces at work in moulding the life of Central Italy, consisted (1) in the influence of the Church, claiming in many parts of the country paramount power; (2) in the power of the nobles, tending towards the tyranny of some great family; (3) in the power of the citizens organised under trade guilds.

The history of the Italian communes is really the story of

the struggle between the Latin and Teutonic ideal. To a large extent this took the form of war between the nobles and the citizens, and it constituted the serious element lying behind the faction fights of Guelphs and Ghibellines.

The power of the Pope grew very slowly, and it was only after the return from Avignon and the election of Martin V. in 1417 that the political influence of the Church became a constant and increasing element in Italian politics. The wars waged by Julius II. early in the sixteenth century, and the building of the great fortress in Perugia by Paul III. in 1540, mark the realisation of the dreams of Pope Stephen when, eight hundred years before, he called the King of the Franks across the Alps.

By the side of the Italian communes and far from the Court of Rome there was growing up a third power of which little is heard in the din of mediæval conflict. This was the Duchy of Savoy. In the middle of the eleventh century the power of this house was founded by the marriage of a Count of Maurienne who owned the western side of the Mont Cenis Pass, with a daughter of the Count of Turin who held the Castle of Susa on the Italian side. One family thus came into possession of the highway over the mountains. From this beginning the house of Savoy grew in power and influence. In 1720 the chief of the house took the title of King of Sardinia. In March 1860 there was added to this kingdom a large part of Central Italy. In 1861 the King of Sardinia was proclaimed King of Italy, and in 1870 Rome was made the capital of a united nation under the rule of the house which had been founded eight hundred years before.

SUMMARY OF THE MONUMENTS

THE most important monuments in the district with which this book deals may be epitomised as follows :—

Etruscan life underlying the civilisation of the country may be studied in the tombs near Perugia and around Orvieto. The museums in the same towns have valuable collections illustrating Etruscan life and civilisation in a variety of ways.

The remains of **Roman life** exist in many directions, the most important being those of the Arco di Agosto in Perugia, the Temple of Minerva in Assisi, the Roman Arches in Spoleto, and the remains in and around Spello.

The **Romanesque populations** have left memories on the Rocca of Spoleto, in the Duomo and the Church of S. Pietro in the same town, in the Duomo at Assisi, and at S. Costanzo near Perugia.

Of the **Gothic style** there are two of the best examples in Italy, viz., the Church of S. Francesco at Assisi and the Duomo at Orvieto.

Some of the finest **Pisan and Florentine sculpture** of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may be studied on the Fountain at Perugia, in the monument of Pope Benedict XI. in S. Domenico at Perugia, and on the pillars between the doors of the Duomo at Orvieto.

The application of **mosaic** to the purposes of an entire façade can be seen nowhere so fully carried out as at Orvieto.

The history of the development of **Italian painting** is to be found on the walls of S. Francesco at Assisi, and in this respect no single monument can compare in importance with it.

The art of the **Umbrian school** as it developed in the fifteenth century is exemplified in the Sala del Cambio at Perugia, and in the frescoes at Città della Pieve, Panicale, Foligno, Trevi, and Spello. The rise and fall of the Umbrian school may be most conveniently studied in the gallery at Perugia.

The **art of the fifteenth century** apart from the Umbrian school has one of its most magnificent developments in the Signorelli frescoes in the Chapel of Madonna di S. Brizio at Orvieto.

The use of painting and sculpture to set forth **schemes of theology and philosophy** was common in Italian art. Examples occur in S. Francesco at Assisi, on the Fountain and in the Sala del Cambio in Perugia, at S. Pietro in Spoleto, and in the sculpture, the painting, and the mosaic on the Duomo at Orvieto.

Photograph: Alinari

DETAIL FROM THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

(By Gentile da Fabriano, painted in 1423. In the Accademia, Florence)

Example of early fifteenth century Umbrian art

I

PERUGIA

NOTE ON THE ANNALS OF PERUGIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

MANY chronicles relating to the history of the town have been preserved, and many historians have written of the events which happened within her walls; but the best of them agree that there is great doubt in regard to the facts, and the causes which produced the events are often still more obscure.

The following notes are not therefore to be regarded as an accurate historical statement. Nothing more is attempted than a brief outline of current tradition respecting circumstances affecting Perugia in the Middle Ages.

Repeated conquests by Goths early in the fifth century, by Lombards (A.D. 568), and Franks (A.D. 774) produced in Italy a population composed of many races, none of which willingly joined with the others to form a truly organic society. An illustration of this is found in the maintenance of various systems of law, so that of people living in the same town some might claim to be ruled by Roman and some by Lombard law.

The natural order of things in Italy ceased to exist after the settlement of the Teutonic tribes, for the lower form of civilisation was politically predominant. The men who owned the land and who ruled the country were of barbarian descent, while the more highly civilised descendants of the Latin races were the landless dwellers in the towns.

The Church alone united in herself all the best elements of the national existence; she inherited classical culture

from the ancient civilisation, she modelled her organisation on that of Imperial Rome, she was heir to the enormous wealth representing the spiritual life, the terrors, and the devotion of generations. With the organisation and the influence of Imperial Rome, the Church inherited the desire for temporal dominion, and to some extent this interfered with her efficiency as the most powerful defender of Latin traditions in opposition to Teutonic civilisation. The claims of the Church to the possession of territories in Central Italy frequently alienated the sympathies of the town populations, who were otherwise her natural allies, and though it is unfair to say that the Church was the source of Italian divisions, it is true that her temporal ambition stood in the way of her power to make for peace and unity.

Between the mediæval Empire and its Margraves and Counts and the mediæval Church, there was the inherent opposition due to two different ideals of life. Between the Church and the town dwellers of Italy there was only the occasional and temporary opposition due to the quarrels of two closely connected powers. The Church and the townsmen stand for Latin life; the Germanic Empire, the Lombard Dukes, the Frankish Margraves, Counts, and landowners represent Teutonic life.

For centuries the struggle between these two ideals continued; the faction fights of Guelph and Ghibelline representing only a short and comparatively unimportant phase of a division which affected every relation of life and the development of all human energies.

Although some towns, such as Pisa, Siena, and Arezzo were usually found supporting the Teutonic Empire, partly owing to local conditions and to jealousy of trade rivals who took the other side, nevertheless it remains true that the townsmen were of the Latin party, and that when no question of political domination interfered they were allies of the Church.

In the introductory note on the general history of Umbria it has been stated that when the Frankish kings Pippin

and Charles overthrew the power of the Lombards, they granted or confirmed to the Pope the possession of certain parts of Italy. There is doubt about what actually happened, but there need be no doubt that the Pope asserted a claim to sovereignty over Perugia and the surrounding country.

The practical effect of this overlordship was serious or not according to circumstance. It did not become persistent until the fifteenth century, and it was not established beyond question till Paul III. built his great fortress in 1540.

The gradual breaking up of the Karling Empire, which occupied the century and a half succeeding the death of Charles the Great (814-962), has left no traces in the history of Perugia that need concern us. But the re-establishment of the Teutonic Empire under Otto the Great (962-973) and the purification of the Papacy effected by Hildebrand (1013 ?-1085) mark a new era in the history of Italy and indeed of the whole western world. After this revival the Imperial power in Central Italy was represented by a Marquis. In 1027 Boniface the Pious was appointed to this office, and as he was the holder of many fiefs in Lombardy his position become one of power and dignity. He was succeeded in the Imperial Marquisate as well as in his other possessions by his descendants, of whom the great Countess Matilda was the last. Her territory extended from Mantua in the north to Chiusi and the neighbourhood of Perugia in the south.

The death of the Countess Matilda in 1115 removed the direct pressure of external authority, and was the opportunity for the beginning of a vigorous and semi-independent life in many Italian communes, for though the Empire and the Papacy had their respective claims to the allegiance of the people, the quarrels of these two great powers left the towns a good deal of scope. War between the Church and the Empire began in the eleventh century under Hildebrand and Henry IV. During the early part of the twelfth century the quarrel proceeded fitfully, but after the acces-

sion of Barbarossa it broke out afresh, and never ceased till the Empire was exhausted a century later. The struggle was carried on by the three Hohenstauffen emperors, Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190), Henry VI. (1190-1197), and Frederick II. (1220-1250). On the other side, the Papacy was represented by such men as Alexander III. (1159-1181), Innocent III. (1198-1216), Gregory IX. (1227-1241), and Innocent IV. (1243-1254).

The contest was many-sided. It was a war between the spiritual and the temporal power on points of jurisdiction; it was a war between an Italian power and a foreign invader; and, more than all, it was a war between ideals, between Roman and barbarian, between a municipal civilisation and a feudal society. During this long duel the towns were, as a rule, against the Hohenstauffens and the feudal nobility. The result of the contest was the downfall of the Teutonic Empire so far as Italy was concerned, and the communes gained greatly in power and in vigorous and independent life. The period of conquest and victory came to an end with the battles of Beneventum (1266) and Tagliacozzo (1268), in which the Hohenstauffen power was destroyed, and the triumph of the Guelph party was assured.

At the beginning of this period, Frederick Barbarossa visited Perugia (A.D. 1166) when at the height of his power. The city submitted itself to him, and it is said that some of the noble families, including the Baglioni, were descended from soldiers who settled in the city at this time. Again, in 1185, Henry, the son of Barbarossa, came to Perugia, and granted many privileges, including castles and lands, and particularly all that the Countess Matilda had owned within Perugian territory. The death of the Emperor Henry VI. in 1197, and the accession of Innocent III. in 1198, re-established papal influence.

There was, however, no great exercise of authority on the part of the Pope, and at the beginning of the thirteenth century it is evident that the government of the city was based on the Trade Guilds, associations which in all the

Italian communes formed the rallying point for the townsmen against the aggression of the nobles.

The executive power of the city was in the hands of Consuls of the Arts, the judicial power was exercised by a Podestà, who was chosen from some other town, and the armed forces was commanded by a Captain of the People. Behind these executive powers the legislative power was exercised by a number of Councils, the most important of which were a Council of the Rectors of the Arts or Guilds, and a Council of 500 " good men " of the Arts.

About the middle of the thirteenth century we begin to find mention of a "studio," a scholastic guild, such as grew up in many towns without authorisation of Pope or emperor, " a product," says Mr Rashdall (" Universities of Europe," vol. ii. part i.), " of that instinct of association which swept like a great wave over the towns of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries." This " studio " developed into a University, and received papal recognition early in the fourteenth century. Its work was helped by the foundation of two houses for the residence of foreign students. These were known as the Sapienza Vecchia (founded in 1368), and the Sapienza Nuova (founded in 1427).

Throughout the thirteenth century the city does not seem to have suffered much from civil strife. There were three parties, the nobles, the rich burghers, and the people ; but in the struggle with the Empire they probably found an outlet for their energies. The rich burghers were called " Raspanti," and the people, the " popolo minuto," were known as " Beccherini."

After the defeat and death of the Hohenstauffen King Manfred in 1266, although the Guelph party was supreme, there was still unrest, and towards the end of the century there were signs of a change in the form of government. The chief executive power was in the hands of Consuls, the predecessors of the Priors who are first mentioned in the early years of the fourteenth century. Both seem to have depended upon the Trade Guilds, and it is pretty certain

that the changes, whatever they may have been, were made in the interests of the Guelph party.

To understand the city politics of this time we must turn for a moment to the relation of the Papacy with the Empire and with France. The Empire had not recovered from the shock of the overthrow of the Hohenstauffens, and except in the case of fruitless expeditions under Henry VII. (1308-1313) and Louis of Bavaria (1314-1347), Italy was free from direct interference. The power of the King of France had, however, grown as that of the Empire declined, and the high-handed policy of Pope Boniface VIII. (1294-1303), together with the unscrupulousness of Philip the Fair, King of France (1285-1314), ended in the downfall of the political power of the Papacy. Benedict XI., the successor of Boniface VIII., died in Perugia in 1304, and the election which followed led to the seventy years' residence of the papal court at Avignon.

It thus happened that, for a large part of the fourteenth century, the Italian communes were left to develop in comparative freedom.

In Guelph cities this state of things favoured the rich burghers, since the nobles had suffered along with the Hohenstauffens, and the spoils of the defeated party had fallen into the hands of the most influential and powerful men among the Guelphs. We find therefore that in Perugia, during the first seventy years of the fourteenth century, the " popolo grasso," or Raspanti, held the rule of the city mainly in their hands. The government was still founded on the organisation of the Trade Guilds, but the election to the higher offices, partly controlled by nomination and partly the result of lot, were fenced about by rules excluding all participation in the government of the city by the nobles. This spirit of exclusion was carried so far that a fine was imposed upon any noble who entered the palace of the Priors. Such a policy was not peculiar to Perugia, and we cannot wonder that it should have led to plots against the ruling class in the city. Between the years 1360 and 1370 there was frequent strife, and in 1368, when

the victorious Raspanti had beheaded a number of their opponents, the Pope interfered, and declared that those who were slain were his friends. As the government by the rich burghers had caused dissatisfaction in other ways, the city turned against them, and a series of papal legates ruled until 1376, when all classes rose against the legate, the Abbot of Mommaggiore, and drove him out. This revolution resulted in the establishment of a government by the "popolo minuto," in which neither nobles nor Raspanti were allowed to have a part. The change, however, produced no better results, and in 1393 Biordo Michelotti, the leader of the Raspanti, established himself in the lordship of the city. He was murdered in 1398, and so distracted and divided were the citizens that they actually gave up the town to the Duke of Milan in exchange for protection. The failure of the "popolo grasso" and the "popolo minuto" naturally helped to improve the position of the nobles who had been driven from the city. At the head of this party was an able Condottiere, Braccio Fortebraccio (1416-1424), who succeeded in making good his rule in the town in 1416. The battle in which he was victorious over Carlo Malatesta, the Condottiere employed by the townsmen, is said to be represented in a picture by Paolo Ucello, now in the National Gallery.

It was during the rule of Fortebraccio that by the efforts of a General Council of the Church the scandal of three Popes all claiming the allegiance of the faithful was brought to an end. Martin V., of the Roman family of the Colonna, was elected in 1417, and the consolidation of the power of the Papacy brought the period of popular government in Perugia to a close. The new line of Popes adopted the side of the nobles and favoured the government of the town by the heads of that party. Piccinino, a famous Condottiere and a native of Perugia, was the chief man in the city from 1442 till his death in 1444. This, however, was only an interlude, the general trend of affairs put more and more power into the hands of the nobles, the chief among their leaders being members of the Baglioni family. Dur-

ing the latter part of the fifteenth century Guido Baglioni was the most important man in the State. Papal patronage since the time of Martin V. enabled the nobles to hold their own against the citizens, but it could not ensure peace within the ranks of the party itself. The families of the Baglioni and the Oddi were at the head of two opposing factions, and the strife was the more bitter, inasmuch as it was the result of personal rivalry and not of any question of principle. This feud is typical of many that had preceded it, and its issue in the exile of the beaten faction is an example of constant recurrence in Italian history.

The whole story illustrates the social life of Perugia so admirably, and allows us to see how complete was the political disintegration of the time, that it may be worth telling at length.

It was on Saturday, the 25th October 1488, soon after midnight, that cries of "Oddi" and "Baglioni" were heard in the piazza, and all night the people stood in arms. On Sunday each side waited and watched the other.

On Monday the shops were closed, and the Baglioni faction fortified and garrisoned the Duomo, while the Oddi fortified their houses in the district of the Via Verzaro and the Piazza degli Aratri.

On Tuesday there was much hard fighting, the object of the Oddi being to try to enter the piazza; but the Corgneschi barred the way from the Porta Susanna and the Baglioni commanded the other entrances. On that evening the Fathers of the Osservanza, Guido Baglioni himself, and some of the wives of the Oddi who were themselves Baglioni, tried to make peace. On Wednesday the whole city was under arms, and the artisans gathered in the Loggia of the Duomo demanding that the turmoil should cease. On Thursday Guido Baglioni began to burn the houses of the friends of the Oddi, until at last these latter, knowing that the Baglioni could get help from outside, and being counselled by Simone of the Oddi, agreed to leave the town, and on that night, the 30th October, thirty-seven men of the Oddi and six hundred of their friends went

out by the Porta Susanna and so to Castiglione del Lago.

After the expulsion of the Oddi, "though there were famous and worthy men in the city, there were every day to be seen new excesses, and the city was without reason and justice." Many legates were sent by the Pope, but they had no authority. All the offices were to be bought, and extortion and oppression caused all men to lament. Upon the Baglioni fell the greatest punishment, however, for family feuds and rivalries led to a plot by which Grifone Baglioni hoped to slay all his kinsmen and attain the lordship of the city. Guido, the head of the house, with several of his sons and nephews, fell. One, however, Gianpaolo, "made wise and prudent by God at this point," thought of going into the house of a private citizen, and so leaving a man-at-arms to defend the staircase, he escaped by the roofs of neighbouring houses, and took refuge in the rooms of some foreign students. After having eaten, and clothed himself as a scholar, he went in company with two of them through the Porta Eburnea. Returning with soldiers he had no difficulty in establishing his power in the city, and those concerned in the conspiracy were punished. This happened in 1500, and for twenty years Gianpaolo ruled. He met his match at last in the Medici Pope Leo X., who, having become suspicious of him, invited him to Rome in 1520. So on the 12th March, on a Monday, on the feast of S. Gregory, there left from Perugia Gianpaolo, and entered the Castle of S. Angelo in Rome to have audience of the Pope. He was made prisoner, and on the 11th June his head was cut off, and he was buried that same evening in S. Maria Transpontina. It is affirmed that he went to death "very patiently, and with great devotion confessed many times, and obtained from the Pope all the indulgences, so much so that the Frati, who were at his death and confession, affirm that he died in great holiness."

Twenty years after this, Paul III. finally subjugated the city by building a fortress, which was destroyed only in our

own time when Italy was united as a free people under the leadership of the house of Savoy.

THE GATEWAYS AND THE WALLS

There is no more easy or interesting way to make an acquaintance with the town of Perugia than to visit the ancient gateways and such parts of the old walls as are accessible and may yet be seen. These are the remains of the earliest life of the town. The large blocks of stone which form the lower courses of the gateways and appear in some parts of the walls are attributed to Etruscan builders. Above is seen the more modern work of the Romans, particularly at the Arco di Agosto, while in other cases a mediæval battlement, as at the Porta Eburnea, reminds us of the struggles between the nobles and people in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The **Arco di Agosto*** is reached by passing to the north of the Duomo and going down the Via Vecchia. The architectural forms of the arch are of the simplest. The Roman part of the building is supposed to have been finished about eighty years before the building of the Arch of Constantine in Rome, and although there is no sculptural decoration and no attempt at magnificence, the gateway of Perugia is a more impressive monument than that erected to the glory of the Emperor. The most interesting part of the walls may be seen by climbing the steep path, which is really a staircase, to the left of the gateway. It leads to a little terrace at the top, from which there is a magnificent view. To the extreme right is seen one of the outlying spurs of Monte Subasio. To the north are the Apennines about Gubbio, to the west is Monte Pacciano, the source of the mediæval water supply. In the near foreground is the Church of S. Agostino, beyond it is the circular Church of S. Angelo, and the mass of brickwork of the time of Fortebraccio which marks the Porta S. Angelo. The whole of this north-western arm of the town is set on a ridge, from

which steep valleys, covered with vines and olives, run sharply down into the low country.

We may reach another point in the Etruscan walls where they are pierced by a gateway in the **Via Appia**. A sharp turn to the left down a narrow passage at the top of the Via Vecchia leads to this street. It begins as a staircase, and reaches the north-eastern part of the town near the Museum on a series of arches.

The Via Bontempi leads from the little piazza in front of the main entrance of the Duomo, steeply down the hill, and so on to the Porta Pesa at the north-eastern corner of the city. The **Etruscan walls** are pierced by the ancient gateway of the **Porta Sole** about half-way down the Via Bontempi.

The ancient gateway at the south-eastern corner of the city is reached from the Piazza Sopramuro by going along the Via del Ospedale and turning down the Via S. Ercolano. The **Etruscan gate** is about half-way down this steep stairway. The best point of view is from the piazza in front of the Church of S. Ercolano. Near by, on the other side of this church, the remains of the ancient **Porta Marzia** have been built into the bastion, which has taken the place of the fortress of Paul III., destroyed since the establishment of the kingdom of United Italy. From this point the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele may be easily reached.

The south-western gate of the town, the **Porta Eburnea**,* is reached from the Piazza Vittoria Emanuele by turning down the broad stairway to the north of the Bank of Italy. At the bottom we turn to the left for a few yards, and then to the R. down the Via Cesare Caporali. Passing to the L. of the little Church of Sant' Angelo d'Eburnea down the Via Bruschi, we come to the ancient gateway of the Porta Eburnea. It has a mediæval battlement over the arch, and surrounded as it is by picturesque streets, it forms one of the most interesting parts of the town. On S. John's day it was the custom for the men of this gate to have a fine procession; they were joined by the priors and the students from the Sapienza, and all went with torches to the church

—probably the Duomo. After dinner the men recited the story of the Prophet Jonah, and went dancing through the city.

If we pass under the arch and turn sharply to the R. and go down the staircase called the Via Paradiso we reach the modern Porta Eburnea. Outside this gate a pathway leads along the **western side of the city**. It is a lovely walk, having the walls of the ancient and the houses of the modern city rising steeply on one side, while on the other gardens and vineyards cover the slopes which fall steeply into the valley below. The city may be re-entered by the Porta Susanna.

The western gate of the town, the **Porta Susanna**, is reached by the Via dei Priori, which leaves the Corso by an archway under the Palazzo Pubblico; the street runs steeply and directly down to the Porta Susanna. In passing down the Via dei Priori there will be observed to the L. an archway leading into the Via della Cupa; a few yards down this last-named street the Via Deliziosa opens to the R. A gateway at No. 5 leads to the **house of Perugino**, with an inscription at the foot of the staircase.

The eastern side of the town and the walls supporting the **Piazza del Sopramuro** [now Piazza Giuseppe Garibaldi] may be seen by entering a gateway at No. 6 Via del Ospedale which is generally open. A few steps into the garden enables the visitor to see the arches and walling, which follow roughly the lines of the ancient Etruscan walls.

The mediæval life of Perugia centred round the Piazza di San Lorenzo (or del Duomo) and the Piazza del Sopramuro.

If we stand on the steps of the **Duomo** leading up to the small door in its southern wall and look straight towards the Corso we shall have close to our right hand the bronze statue of Pope Julius III. (1550–1555), who was thus honoured in return for the concessions granted in mitigation of the heavy taxes imposed by Paul III. upon the city. Further to our R. is a loggia built by Braccio Fortebraccio (1416–1424). Beyond this are the buildings of the

Canonica. Turning at right angles and still looking to the R. we see the Archivescovile. The building may be recognised by its modern frescoes in monochrome representing the four cardinal virtues. Turning again at right angles there is straight in front of our standpoint the Palazzo Pubblico, containing the Library, the Picture Gallery, and the public offices of the town.

Keeping to the same standpoint at the southern door of the Cathedral and turning to the L., there is close to us, built on the wall of the Duomo, the pulpit from which the great preachers of the fifteenth century spoke to the crowds in the piazza.

Looking still to the L., the building at the south-eastern corner of the piazza, opposite to the Palazzo Pubblico, was the old hall of the Notaries; according to tradition Perugino once used part of this building as his workshop.

In the open space of the Piazza di S. Lorenzo is the public fountain. The **Piazza** was the scene of nearly all the great public acts and events which make up the history of the town. It was here, for instance, that she realised her territorial greatness. On the day of S. Ercolano the subject towns paid their tribute. Some sent "palii," pieces of cloth or silk, others a richly caparisoned horse. This ceremony is mentioned in 1314, and in 1381 it is recorded that nineteen lands and cities offered tribute.

The learned life of the town was centred in the **Piazza Supramuro**. On the eastern side of the open space which is now used for the market, there are the buildings formerly occupied by the Captain of the People and by the University; they date from the years 1472 and 1483 respectively. The walls on which the piazza rests on its eastern sides are mentioned as early as in 1275.

The principal points of interest in Perugia may be visited in the following way :—

(1) Starting from the Arco di Agosto and going in a **north-westerly** direction—the Corso Garibaldi leads to S. Agostino S. Angelo, the Porta S. Angelo, and beyond the gate to S. Francesco al Monte. The Museum is in this

quarter and may be reached by turning to the L. out of the Corso Garibaldi, or more directly by the Via Appia.

(2) Starting from the Duomo in a **north-easterly** direction along the Via Bontempi we pass near the chapel part of the old monastery of S. Severo, where the fresco of Raphael is preserved. At the bottom of the hill is the Church of Sta. Maria Nuova.

(3) Leaving the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele or the Piazza del Sopramuro and going in a **south-easterly** direction along the Corso Cavour in the direction of the Porta S. Pietro we pass the Churches of S. Ercolano, S. Domenico, S. Pietro dei Cassinesi, and beyond the gate the interesting Church of S. Costanzo.

(4) Turning out of the Corso Vannucci (the main street) by an archway under the Palazzo Pubblico and going down the Via dei Priori to the **west side** of the town we reach the oratory of S. Bernardino and the Church of S. Francesco al Prato.

ETRUSCAN PERUGIA

General Note upon the Characteristics of the Etruscan People and their Art

The cities of Tuscany and Umbria have many records in their streets and museums of an ancient civilisation dating far back to a remote period before the existence of the Romans, before the Greeks had risen from semi-barbarism, before the kings of Israel had established their kingdom. This civilisation was that of the **Etruscans**, or the Rasenæ, as they called themselves, a powerful, active, and able race of people who settled in Central Italy probably in the ninth or tenth century B.C. Their origin is unknown, but the fact that many of their habits and customs are similar to those of Oriental nations gives some colour to the tradition that they came from the East. They were doubtless a mixed race, and at an early period they showed in their arts a strongly sympathetic disposition towards Hellenic culture.

From whatever part of Europe or Asia they may have sprung, the point of importance for the traveller is the fact that this race left the stamp of its powerful individuality upon the country, so that throughout Italian history the Tuscans have been distinguished for their pre-eminent ability, both as thinkers and as artists. The tombs and the Etruscan collections in Umbria represent a long period of history. They are the products of a civilisation extending over some eight or nine hundred years.

Etruscan chronology is said to date back to the beginning of the tenth century B.C., and the earliest remains, probably of the ninth century, show that at that time they were a semi-barbarous race, capable of producing only primitive utensils for the simplest wants. The country was fertile, the people were able and industrious, and coming in contact at an early period with the products of Hellenic civilisation, they showed an extraordinary readiness in adapting themselves to its influence. This capacity of the Etruscans for assimilating the higher culture of Greece is the most significant characteristic of the race.

In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. the inhabitants of Etruria were the most powerful of all the tribes in the peninsula. In 450 B.C. they were masters of almost the whole of Central and Northern Italy; they had imposed their suzerainty upon Latium, and occupied Campania, while upon the Adriatic and Mediterranean seas their fleet was the terror of other maritime nations.

The Etruscans were united, it is believed, in a confederacy of twelve cities, each of which was an independent state, with the right, not only of self-government, but of making war and peace on its own account. No list of the twelve cities has been preserved, but those which are generally considered to have been the most important are Tarquinii (now Corneto), Veii (eleven miles from Rome), Volsinii (now Bolsena), Clusium (now Chiusi), Volaterrae (Volterra), Vetulonia (on the coast near Telamone), Perusia (Perugia), Cortona, Arretium (Arezzo).

There were other towns, such as Fiesole, Pisa, Caere (now

Cervetri), and Volci (now Vulci), which were certainly at one time also independent states.

The middle of the fifth century B.C. marks the beginning of the decline in power of the Etruscan confederacy. The Samnites took Capua in 424 B.C. The Romans gained their first victory in 426, and, two years later, Fidenæ fell into their hands.

The Gauls invaded Northern Italy in the fourth century, and the power of the Etruscans received a severe blow from the capture of Veii in 396 B.C. by the Romans. In the course of the next hundred years, the central part of the kingdom fell under the Roman yoke, and the defeat at Sentinum in 295 B.C. marks the end of the Etruscan supremacy.

Under the influence of the Etruscans, Rome came in contact with the culture of Greece, for the Latin race, while it mastered Etruria, adopted the habits, the laws, and the arts of the conquered people. A greater glory was added to the Etruscans by becoming the instructors of the still greater nation of the Romans. The one fact above others which strikes us with regard to this people, is that nothing of what they wrote has come down to us except inscriptions, and these inscriptions, although perfectly legible, are almost entirely unintelligible.

Our knowledge, therefore, about their religion, their government, and their arts is based upon no documents; there are no certain dates, and no names. On the other hand, the genius of the Etruscan artists lay in the direction of realistic portraiture, so that we have a large number of lifelike images of the people as they lived.

Besides this, there have been preserved in the tombs many of the homely things that they used in their daily lives, their weapons and ornaments, their pots and vases, so that we seem to have an intimate and somewhat familiar acquaintance with people about whom in all important matters we know nothing.

We know how they dressed their hair, what kind of tongs and pins they used, how they slept and how they ate; but

we know little of their system of government, and almost nothing of their beliefs and aspirations.

Religion.—In the judgment of antiquity the Etruscans were considered the most religious people among the nations of the West, but we can learn nothing directly of the nature of that religion.

Judging from the sepulchral furniture, and from the ceremonies connected with the committing of the dead to their final resting-place, it would seem that at some stage of their development the Etruscans had been ancestor worshippers. Much importance was attached to the safe preservation of the ashes or of the bodies of the dead, for both burial and burning were used by the Etruscans. Food was placed in the tombs, and sacrifices were offered, and we are told that it was the custom at one time for relations to pass the night in the sepulchres, a custom commonly practised by those who believed that the powers of the dead might be by such means transmitted to the living.

Whatever may have been the nature of this primitive belief, it is clear that the Etruscan religion became strongly tinged with Hellenic elements, although always preserving certain distinctive and peculiar features. It is probable that the people continued to follow the old burial customs, and the fashion of furnishing the tomb, long after changes in belief had been adopted which destroyed the significance of the early practices.

The doctrine of the veiled deities was purely Etruscan, foreign both to the Greeks and the Romans. The twelve hidden gods, "Dii involuti," were the supreme powers—mysterious, inscrutable, never to be seen, and never represented. Below them in the divine hierarchy were the gods who executed the will of the superiors in so far as it related to mortals. Of these, the three principal were Tinia, corresponding to Jupiter, Cupra to Juno, and Menevra to Minerva. Temples were raised in every city, it is said, to each of these three deities.

The doctrine of genii, which was adopted and developed

by the Romans, is another feature of the Etruscan religion. A large number of attendant spirits, demons, fates, and furies watch over human beings, announce their approaching end, and go with the soul on its last journey. They appear continually in the paintings and sculptures of the tombs, and form an interesting study in themselves.

Civil and ecclesiastical authority in Etruria was in the hands of an all-powerful hierarchy ; the princes or military chiefs were themselves priests skilled in divination, and the science of the worship of the gods was the hereditary possession of the Lucumones, a race of priestly nobles. Great attention was paid to divination by sacrifice, by the flight of birds, and by lightning, and the Etruscan Haruspices, or augurs, were called to Rome to interpret abnormal portents by the Romans who adopted many of the practices of divination, but never mastered the science.

The chief point of interest in the religion of the Etruscans is their belief in an after life.

The tombs are furnished with armour, weapons, ornaments, vessels for eating and drinking, as though the ghost continued to enjoy the material pleasures of this life. The bliss of the dead is pictured as the enjoyment of an eternal banquet, and the place of Shades is a place of feasting and revelry. At the same time, Death was not looked upon philosophically as the natural end or as the kindly visitant. All men are cut off violently by the hand of fate, in the midst of life. A hideous demon, the Charun of the Etruscans, strikes down the living with his hammer, or a Fury, as an ugly hag, touches the wrist of the victim and deprives him of life. Relations mourn and lament over the dead body, while the soul sets out on its uneasy journey to the underworld, alone, except for the fearful demon companions.

Art.—The Etruscans were able and skilful workmen, but they were not richly gifted as artists. They imitated the works imported from Greece, yet their development was not organic. Each locality passed through various phases, but not in chronological sequence. In some cases we find

an archaic and more primitive style succeeding a freer and more developed manner of representation. Abrupt changes abound, and no unification of styles took place until the final period of Etruscan art in the third century B.C.

A certain industrial and commercial quality stamps the work of this people, and their sculptures, paintings, and jewellery are lacking in taste and refinement.

They had little power of idealisation, and seem to have tried to represent things as they saw them, rather than to search for ideal types. On the other hand, they had a certain instinct for portraiture, and succeeded in impressing a vivid and lifelike quality upon their work.

Architecture.—Little remains now of the work done by Etruscan builders. Fragments of walls and portions of gateways are to be found in several Umbrian cities, notably in Perugia. The masonry consists of large irregular blocks laid in horizontal courses without cement. It is supposed that the temples must have closely resembled the Doric style. The pediments were loaded with sculpture, and fragments of the statues used for this purpose are to be found in several of the Etruscan collections. The sculptures appear as a rule to have illustrated the deeds of the particular deities who were worshipped in the sanctuary.

Tombs.—The Etruscans practised both incineration and burial, and the tombs in which the ashes or bodies of the dead were preserved were, generally speaking, of three kinds.

(1) The earliest form of tomb was that of a well, the ashes being stored in a vessel at the bottom, and covered with a large stone. Sometimes this vessel was in the form of a little hut of clay or bronze ; elsewhere it took the form of a vase with a symbolical bird upon the lid representing the spirit. In some districts the cinerary vase has a mask, taken from the face of the dead, attached to it, and at a later period this mask was replaced by a rough portrait head, which formed the lid. Most of the black ware called "Bucchero," and the primitive pottery with geometrical designs come from the well tombs. The sepulchres of a

later date which can be visited by the traveller in Umbria are roughly of two sorts :

(2) Those like the tombs of the Necropolis of Orvieto, which are built of massive blocks of stone, and grouped together so that they resemble a street of low buildings. Each house consists of one or two chambers, within which the bodies of the dead were placed upon stone benches.

(3) Tombs, such as those in the neighbourhoods of Perugia, Orvieto, and Chiusi, which are more in the nature of caves hollowed from the rocks in the hillside.

These cave tombs are, as a rule, cut out of the natural rock in imitation of buildings. The roofs are made to look as if the tomb were covered with slabs of stone, and other architectural decorations, such as cornices and doorways, are added to resemble masonry. The walls of such sepulchres are frequently covered with paintings, and the dead are either laid upon benches, or their ashes are stored in stone chests or sarcophagi.

THE ETRUSCAN MUSEUM

A collection of Etruscan and Roman antiquities is housed in the buildings of the **University**.

The Museum may be reached by a picturesque route, starting from the Piazza Danti, passing down the Via Vecchia under a massive archway. Turn to the L. into the Via delle Cantine, under another arch : descend the steps of the Via Appia, into the Via Acquedotto, and so reach the Via Ariodante Fabretti and the University which was formerly an Olivetan Monastery. The Museum, on the first floor, is open every day, 10 A.M. to 2 P.M. Entrance, one lira.

In the passage are copies of Roman and Etruscan inscriptions and a few Roman sarcophagi.

On the walls of the **Staircase** are Greek, Etruscan and Roman inscriptions. On the end of the balustrade is a sphinx which probably stood at the entrance of an Etruscan tomb. The work is of great antiquity.

In the **Vestibule**, at the top of the stairs, are severa stone monuments or "cippi" with inscriptions. They were used both by the Romans and Etruscans to mark the place of tombs and of boundaries. Opposite the door is a large rectangular cippus, No. **32**, with one of the longest Etruscan inscriptions that have come down to us. It was discovered in 1822 near Perugia and so far has defied all attempts at interpretation. It has been described variously as an account of a feast, as a contract relating to boundaries, and as an ordinance for religious rites.

In the centre of the room and near the window, Nos. **39** and **40**, two stone monuments with figures of dancers in delicate relief, in a primitive style dating from the seventh or sixth century B.C. The long and narrow proportions of the figures, and the manner of representing the hands and the feet together in profile, is characteristic of the archaic art of the Greeks.

Pass through the glass doors, and continue straight on along the **North Corridor**.

Close to the door are a number of urns for the ashes of the dead, in the shape of houses or temples. On the front is the design of two shields in profile with a star-shaped flower between. The symbolical significance of this design has not been satisfactorily explained.

Nos. **188** and **189**, with reliefs of the head of Medusa. These images occur frequently on the urns and in the tombs. It was supposed that they had power to protect the sepulchre against those who might seek to disturb it. According to the most popular version of the Greek legend, Medusa was one of the Gorgons, three sisters who lived on the edge of the land of darkness. She alone of the sisters was beautiful and mortal, but having by her presumption offended the goddess Athene, she was made more terrible than her sisters, and her hair was turned into serpents. Perseus, with the help of the goddess, dared to enter the place of eternal twilight, and carried off the head of Medusa as a trophy. Athene fastened this head to her breastplate, and used it as an invincible weapon against her

enemies, for the head had the miraculous power of turning those who looked on it to stone.

The association of Medusa with the place of night, and the use of her head as a talisman, and as a powerful weapon against all foes, accounts for the presence of these images in the tombs. In early times the heads of Medusa were hideous and frightful, but at a later date they came to be represented with a calm expression and beautiful features. Examples of the early and late type may be seen in this museum.

Many of the urns have figures upon the lids, reclining upon pillows as though seated at a banquet. As a rule very little labour has been expended upon them, but with few exceptions an effort has been made to secure a portrait. The young, the middle-aged and the elderly are presented just as they were in life, neither idealised nor ennobled, in the full enjoyment of their pleasures. It is noticeable that there are no effigies of children, and this absence of all reference to the "little dead" suggests a comparison with the Christian Catacombs, where the number of inscriptions to children at once strikes the attention.

It is not obvious whether the men and women on the Etruscan urns are represented as living in this world or as having passed to another realm, where they are free from fate, and no longer dogged by death. If the latter, then the upper and lower parts of the urn present a striking contrast between the turmoil and dangers of the life of mortals and the imperturbable calm of the existence of the shades. Almost all the scenes on the lower part of the urns illustrate the tragedy of death and are taken from the Iliad and Odyssey. Scenes of combat, massacre, and sacrifice are most frequently chosen.

191, on the L., is the fight between the two Theban brothers, Polyneikes and Eteokles, who slew one another in single combat.

194 and **195**, urns with figures of women on the lid, holding flowers.

In the centre of the room is a small terra-cotta urn, **190**,

on the lid is a vigorous portrait sketch of a woman ; and on the sides a Medusa head, between griffins which are wrought with extraordinary freedom and vigour. The griffin, like the Medusa head, was placed on tombs and over the doors of the sepulchres, as a protector against evil powers.

223. An open coffin with the well-preserved skeleton of a woman, found near Perugia. Beside her are her ornaments and toilet necessaries : a mirror, a strigil, pots for ointments and cosmetics, and a piece of money to pay for her passage over the river to the infernal regions.

235, near the window, is an urn with a spirited scene of the siege of Thebes, by Polyneikes, and the seven heroes of Argos. The Argive soldiers are trying to scale the walls, while the Thebans hurl down stones upon them. In the foreground Capaneus falls, struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus in punishment of his impiety.

Nos. **238** to **268** are thirty urns from the Necropolis of the Rafia family, dating from the time of Etruscan supremacy and ending in the Roman period.

Nos. **243** and **244** are painted ; they represent Achilles pursuing Troilus, the son of Priam, who falls from his horse and is killed at the gate of Troy.

245 has a composite sea monster, perhaps a marine deity, or a personification of the dangers of the sea. Such figures are often represented as fighting with and destroying human beings, and may be regarded as evidence that the Etruscans, whose wealth depended greatly upon their maritime commerce, attached importance to the propitiation of the sea deities.

266, near the window, is the urn of Velius-Rapia, a magistrate who is standing at the gate of Hades.

East Corridor. A number of small terra-cotta urns are stored in a cupboard. Many of them have identical reliefs, evidently cast from the same mould. The slaughter of the two Theban brothers, sea-monsters, and griffins are the principal subjects. The lying figures on the lids are wrapped in long cloaks ; there is no suggestion of the

Christian idea of the sleep of the dead, or of the body awaiting the return of the soul—these little figures are like living people enjoying comfortable repose.

367, near the window, has the figures of a husband and wife reclining upon a couch in animated and smiling converse.

368, opposite, has a realistic portrait figure of a young woman.

366 to **324** are fragments of **Roman** workmanship. On the wall are some small panels of Roman mosaic.

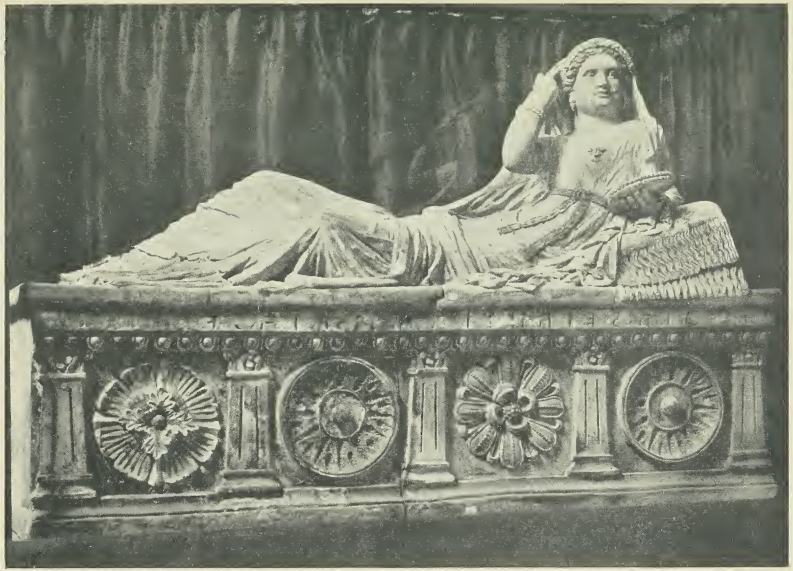
304 has a farewell scene between a husband and wife. **324,** the head of an empress, perhaps Faustina. **325**. A marble urn with beautiful and delicate relief of olive-trees. In a case are two busts, one very fine.

279 to **274** are urns with inscriptions relating to the family of the Volumniii.

279 has the figure of a young woman leaning on her elbow in an easy, graceful position. Underneath is her name, Thania Cafsinia Volumni.

South Corridor. Nos. **67** to **77** are urns from the tombs of the Pomponia Plautia family, covering the period of the decline of the Etruscan and the beginning of the Roman era. The scene of the Sacrifice of Iphigenia occurs several times on the tombs of women. Iphigenia was sacrificed by her father, King Agamemnon, as a propitiation to the goddess Artemis, whose sacred stag had been slain in the chase. Human sacrifices continued among the Etruscans long after it had been abandoned by the Greeks. Young maidens were offered on the altar of Cupra (Juno), as we see realistically represented in a painting now in the Etruscan collection of the Louvre.

173, near the window, is an urn of grey stone with a spirited figure of a winged soul riding on the back of a sea-dragon. The soul points with outstretched finger to the goal towards which it is swiftly carried. The journey of the soul to the underworld is generally represented by a figure on horseback, or on a sea-monster, sometimes it is implied by the figure of a horse alone.



Photograph: Alinari

SARCOPHAGUS OF LARTHIA SEIANTI

(In the Archæological Museum, Florence)

Compare with Etruscan urns and tombs in the Museum at Perugia

165 (also near the window), a man and woman playing a syrinx, and a cithern, are seated together on a sea-monster, a Hippocampus.

Along the wall are several conical and pointed stones, used to mark the place of a tomb.

107 has a scene from the myth of Circe. Ulysses frees one of his companions from the effects of the incantations of Circe.

135, against the window wall, is another figure of the soul journeying to the underworld on the back of a prancing monster.

West Gallery. No. **70**. The relief represents the Killing of the Kalydonian Boar by Meleager, who thus freed the country from the punishment sent upon it by Artemis.

66. A beautiful head of Medusa, coloured and surrounded by green leaves. Close by, **43**, has figures on the lid which have been coloured. The men were generally painted a strong brownish red, and the women white. The relief on the front of a lion with square broad outlines, markedly resembles the lions in Romanesque art.

Opposite the window is a sarcophagus of limestone, probably of the sixth century B.C. On the front is a funeral procession with captives and animals led to sacrifice; on the two sides are the mourners seated at the funeral banquet.

No. **58*** is perhaps the most popular object in the museum, two figures on the lid of a sarcophagus, found near Chiusi. An obese middle-aged man lies in the usual attitude on a couch holding a patera. At his feet sits his Fate, a little old woman with wings on her shoulders, a large hooked nose, pointed chin and wrinkled brow. She lays her hand on the man's wrist and deprives him of life. There is no malevolence in her expression, and her victim appears to be either unconscious of the fatal touch or indifferent to its consequences, regarding the future without fear or anxiety.

On a stand in the centre of the room is a large sepulchral monument surmounted by a cone-shaped pillar, found near

Perugia. The reliefs represent a deathbed scene (where two women hold a child in front of the dying mother), and the funeral procession. The style of the work is archaic and rigid, probably dating from the sixth century B.C.

Return along the West Gallery to the south where is the entrance to the rooms containing the collection of vases, bronzes, etc.

Room I. contains various objects of the prehistoric period of the Iron Age, such as vases, spear-heads, arrows, bracelets, and flints.

Room II. In the centre of the room is a large Attic Krater, found near Perugia, with red figures upon a black ground. The subjects are Ceres sending Triptolemus to teach agriculture to men, and a group of gods and goddesses. In the cases are specimens of Italo-Greek and Etruscan pottery. The Etruscans followed the progressive changes of style in Greek pottery, but they never attained to the same artistic excellence.

Case A contains vases with designs in black upon a red ground. The figures both of men and animals are hard and rigid and of exaggerated proportions. The muscles of the figures and the lines of the drapery are marked by white incised lines. Note No. **17**, a man standing beside his horse. In this case are some good specimens of purely Greek vases of the later and more perfect style. The background is painted black, the figures are left the natural reddish colour of the clay, and the details marked with black or brown lines. Nos. **75**, **81**, and **89** are good examples.

Case B. On the lowest shelf are some of the earliest pottery with geometrical patterns drawn in black upon the uncoloured clay. Similar designs to these are to be found on the pottery of most semi-civilised races. (See in the Louvre, the Salle des origines comparées.)

Case C has examples of Bucchero, black pottery made chiefly in Chiusi and the neighbourhood. The subjects of the reliefs on the pottery are usually rows of animals or symbols of the various deities. It is supposed that this

ware belongs to a period when the strict and priestly character of the Etruscan religion did not permit the representations of the divine mysteries, and that it was only after long contact with the freer and more fanciful creed of the Greeks that the people of Etruria began to depict the histories of their deities. Notice a number of tall vases used for funeral purposes, with a bird on the lid, a symbol of the soul. On one shelf are several trays holding small pots. They are commonly known as "Focolari," and they seem to have been used as toilet stands, but in some cases they were placed above hot ashes, and kept the vessels placed on them warm for the funeral feast.

Room III. In the centre is a fine vase, No. **1096**, found outside the Porta S. Angelo, in a tomb. Near the window is a Roman Amphora incrusted with lime deposits, which was found in the sea.

Case A. A number of terra-cotta masks. No. **364.** Head of Medusa, of very fine workmanship. The face is of the frightful type, with staring eyes, protruding tongue, and snakes twisted in the hair. There are other examples also of the beautiful type. On the lowest shelf are terra-cotta votive offerings of hands, feet, breasts, etc.

Cases B and **C.** A number of small bottles, lamps, and children's toys found in the tombs.

Room IV. In the centre case are a number of gold ornaments. The most noticeable is a large ear-ring found in the urn of a woman; it is supposed to date from the third or second century B.C., a period when taste had suffered degradation, and more value was attached to costliness than to artistic merit.

Case A contains glass bottles for balsam, Roman lead missiles for slings: they are inscribed with words of abuse addressed to the enemy.

Cases B, C, and **D** contain various objects in bronze. The Etruscans became renowned throughout the ancient world for their skilled workmanship in bronze. In this room are bells, keys, rings, helmets, pins, pots, statuettes, and mirrors.

Room V. In the centre is a fine Etruscan bronze mirror engraved with the subject of Helen and her brothers Castor and Pollux; also a vase in bronze repoussé. Near the window on a stand is a bronze helmet of very elegant design and elaborate workmanship.

Case A has many long and narrow statuette figures. These were probably votive offerings corresponding in height to the requirements of the vow, but an economy in metal was effected in the thickness. On the third shelf, L. side, is the goddess of Health, Hygeia, with a patera in one hand and a serpent in the other. Beside her is the little goddess of Convalescence. On the opposite wall, **Case B** has a number of helmets, spears, arrow-heads. On a shelf are bracelets and Fibulæ, the Etruscan safety-pin. The fashion of dress at one period apparently involved the use of a large number of these pins, no less than twenty have been found in one sarcophagus. Dice made of bone and ivory were found in the tombs both of men and women.

Case C has three bronze stands for playing a game of divination, called Cottabos. The principal object was to throw the contents of a wine-cup against the metal plate of the Cottabos without spilling any, so as to produce a clear metallic sound. As the lover threw the wine, he pronounced the name of his mistress, who was judged to be favourable to his suit in proportion to the clearness of the sound produced. On either side of the case are parts of a curial chair.

Room VI. The mountings of a chariot in early Grecian archaic style found near Perugia; other parts of the ornaments are in the Etruscan collections at the British Museum and in Munich.

The following three rooms contain the Guardabassi collection.

Room VII. In **Case H**, against the wall, is a beautiful bronze mirror,* with Bacchus riding upon a panther, in high relief. The young slender god sits with ease and grace upon the beast, which seems the very embodiment of the

freedom of the forest. The artist has brought before us something of the spiritual form of the vine born of the lightning and the dew. We have an image of the fiery heat of the sun, of the coolness of fresh leaves, of the exhilaration of swift movement.

Case I has a number of engraved mirrors.

Case L contains jewellery. The love of jewellery was a characteristic of the Etruscan race, but it is to be doubted whether any of the works of high artistic quality were done by the Etruscans themselves. The native work in comparison with the imported Greek work is characterised by the same absence of taste, carelessness of finish, and lack of proportion as is found in the sculptures and paintings.

Room VIII. has some good specimens of Bucchero from Chiusi, amongst them are several of the tall vases with a bird on the lid, also trays or Focolari. In the centre is a case with a collection of Roman and Etruscan signets.

Room IX. On the wall opposite to the window is a vase with four figures of deities, a Medusa head, and two centaurs. There is also a collection of weapons of the Stone Age.

Room X. has a collection of antiquities from Cyprus. In the centre of the room is a case containing the bones of Fortebraccio of Montone, a famous condottiere.

The Hall of the University is reached from the entrance corridor by a door on the L. In the passage leading to the hall is a relief of the fifteenth century, the front of the sarcophagus of Ubaldo Bartolini, a famed legist and teacher of Perugia. The master, in hood and gown, sits at his desk, in a room filled with scholars. Those nearest to the master are seated at benches writing, the rest of the audience stands behind.

Near by is a Ciborium from the old Church of S. Prospero, interesting as one of the few examples to be found in Umbria of the art destined to grow into the fully developed Romanesque style of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The work is attributed to the eighth century, but whether this date can be trusted or no there need be little doubt

that it is an effort of native Italian workmen to profit by Byzantine examples. There is the curious stiffening of forms, the incompetent rendering of classical detail, and the picturesque but unnatural realisation of living things which is so common in similar monuments in Northern Italy. On the arch facing the spectator the cross occupies the central place. In the triangular spaces at each side peacocks feed on grapes; these are immortal souls enjoying the fruits of the terrestrial paradise. A similar idea is worked out on the arch at the back, where doves are feeding on the vine tendrils.

The capitals from which the arches spring are carved with leaves in a tentative fashion. They look like the work of one who has seen good models, but has been unable to copy them effectively.

In the **Hall** is a sarcophagus of early Christian times, which was used as the burial-place of Frate Egidio, the companion of S. Francis. It is a striking work, though not of the best period. A youthful and beardless Christ sits in the centre, and on each side, in niches separated by small columns, are the figures of Madonna and nine disciples. In the spaces formed by the canopies of the niches are wreaths, and birds feeding on fruit. On the cover of the tomb there is to the extreme L. a representation of Noah in the Ark receiving the olive branch from the dove, and two scenes from the story of Jonah: to the R. he is cast out of the ship and swallowed by the whale, to the L. he has been thrown by the whale on the celestial shore, where he rests in the enjoyment of Paradise. The ark floating on the water signifies the Church, in which man is saved, and the promise of salvation comes to Noah under the figure of the olive branch brought by the dove. The story of Jonah is a symbol of the Resurrection, the goal of those who have received the promise.

On the lower part of the sarcophagus the Incarnation is proclaimed as the means by which the promise is made good. Christ is seated on a throne; on His right stands Madonna, and in the other niches is a company of nine

disciples, probably Apostles, from the scrolls they hold in their hands and their bare feet. The birds which feed on the branches above their heads are immortal souls sustained by the fruits of the vine of the Lord, while the wreaths are crowns of glory and of eternal life, the reward of those who are faithful to the end. The Christ is beardless, for in early times it was thought that youth was the proper attribute for the Son of God, who was not conceived of as suffering from the changes of time. The veiled and robed figure of Madonna has the charm of classical simplicity and grace; like the Apostles, she has a scroll. The nine disciples are of various types and ages; they are reserved and dignified Roman citizens, senators rather than fishermen. There is in these simple figures a fine sense of order, and a delicate feeling for balance suggestive of an ancient civilisation and a tradition which has become classical.

Around the walls are a number of figures in high relief of the school of *Agostino di Duccio*, from the chapel of the Maestà della Volta. There are also some fragments by *Arnolfo di Cambio* (1232-1301).

TOMBS OF THE VOLUMNII

About three miles from Perugia, near to the station of Ponte S. Giovanni, and on the carriage road to Assisi, is an **Etruscan necropolis** with a considerable number of underground tombs, the largest of which has been kept open and made accessible for visitors.

No opportunity should be missed of visiting this sepulchre, which is of late date, about 150 B.C., and differs in several remarkable features from the tombs of Orvieto and Chiusi. The dead were not buried, but the ashes of the bodies when burned were stored in urns or chests, and placed in these underground chambers. The chests are still to be seen in their original position, and surrounded by various articles of sepulchral furniture. A knowledge of the appearance of the tombs in the different districts will be found to add greatly to the interest of the contents of

the museums. It is supposed that this sepulchre belonged to one family, as the urns are all inscribed with one name, that of **Velimnas, or, in Romanised form, Volumnius.**

The entrance to the tomb has been covered with a modern building that now serves as a storehouse for the urns taken from the other tombs of the necropolis, with which the land round about is honeycombed.

A steep stairway cut out of the tufa leads to the doorway, once closed with a slab of travertine. On the door jamb is an inscription in Etruscan characters, which has been translated, "Arnth Velimnas, son of Larth and Arznea, protector and caretaker of this sepulchre, presents the lamps for the funeral feasts."

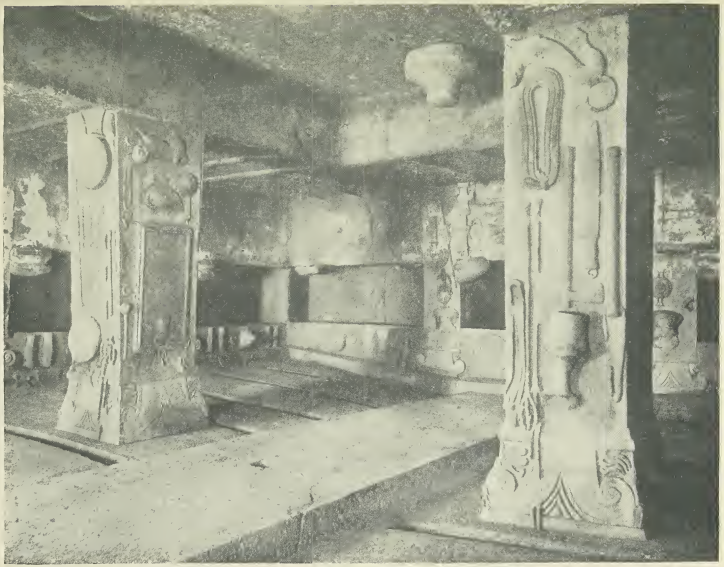
The plan of the tomb may be roughly described as consisting of a nave, with a choir and transepts and four side chapels.

The end chamber, corresponding to the choir, is the only part of the tomb where the contents have remained undisturbed. The other rooms have been filled with chests found in the neighbourhood.

We enter first a long vestibule, twelve feet by twenty-four feet, with a high-pitched roof carved in the form of rafters. Above the door of entrance is the figure of the sun, as a round globe, between two dolphins. Turning towards the choir, we see above the entrance a great head of Medusa, with bold, regular features, and wide, staring eyes. On either side are two smaller heads; the one to the left has been destroyed, the one to the right represents Apollo.

Symbols of the underworld, in the form of serpents made of terra-cotta, start out from the wall of entrance; and immediately inside the doorway, hanging from the roof, is a little earthenware statuette of a winged genius.

When we step into the small, low chamber representing the choir, we are at once in the presence of the Velimnas family. Four men and two women are reclining upon their



Photograph : Brogi

ETRUSCAN TOMB

(From the Necropolis of Cervetri)

Compare with the tomb of the Volumnii, near Perugia

couches, on the tops of the chests which contain their ashes. The stone, or terra-cotta, has been covered with fine white stucco, and carefully finished.

The figures represent a handsome, vigorous, and able race of people, gathered together here, as they might have been in life, in pursuit of material pleasures. There is nothing to indicate that the next life was conceived of more spiritually than as a continuation of the enjoyments of this life; and although surrounded by sinister and gloomy images of death, these sculptured portraits look out into the darkness with serene calmness, and with undisturbed satisfaction in the pleasures of eating, drinking, and adorning themselves.

Aruns Volumnius, the head of the family, has the place of honour at the top of the room. His couch is elaborately ornamented, the pillows, coverlets, and decorations upon the posts are carefully realised.

The noteworthy point, however, is that the chest is raised upon a pedestal, which is carved so that it resembles the façade of a tomb. There were originally four figures painted in the doorway, representing, perhaps, the shades of the dead, but the fresco has now almost disappeared. The entrance to this door is guarded by two seated statues of furies, or genii, holding torches. Their features are somewhat heavy, but the general effect of these figures, which have none of the characteristics of the frightful demon, is solemn and dignified.

To the L. of Aruns is the chest with the ashes of his daughter, to the R. that of his son, and beside the latter there is a fine seated figure of a woman described as Veilia Velimna Arnthial. She sits upon a throne or chair of state, and one hand is raised to her shoulder apparently in the act of arranging her dress. Her face bears more of the stamp of an idealised portrait than is usual in Etruscan art, and is very beautiful.

These chests are judged to be of the second century B.C., and the fact that some of the inscriptions are in Latin, but that the greater number are in Etruscan characters, would

point to a time when Etruria had been conquered by Rome, but not entirely Latinised.

The urns stored in the side chambers resemble many of those to be found in the museum. Some of the lids have recumbent figures, others are in the form of the roof of a house or temple.

The subjects upon the chests represent the familiar scenes of the combats and tragic deaths of heroes, the punishment bestowed by the gods for the sin of presumption in mortals, and the mysterious journey of the soul to the underworld. There are, amongst others, the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, the Hunting of the Kalydonian Boar, the Death of Troilus at the Gate of Troy; also a number of single figures of marine deities, and of sea-monsters conveying the soul upon its way.

Under the shelter of the modern building, at the top of the stairs, there are a number of chests, some of which have reliefs of a less usual type. On the R. of the stairs is a scene in which two men, armed with weapons, stand on either side of a post or tree. On another urn is a spirited design of a griffin attacking a man, a subject which is frequently to be found in Romanesque sculpture.

On the L. is a human sacrifice, where the victim is held down upon the altar by the hair, and the priest stands ready with his weapon. The choice of such a subject as this, and the manner of representation, is an evidence of the predilection of the Etruscans for realism in art carried even to the point of brutality. The figure of a man between two genii standing upon pedestals may represent a contest for the soul between good and evil attendant spirits, a subject often represented upon the chests at Chiusi.

Torre di Manno, or Tempio di S. Manno

About three miles from Perugia, in a south-westerly direction, is an **Etruscan tomb**, called the **Tempio di S. Manno**, which is of interest as an example of fine masonry,

and as evidence that the Etruscans knew and used the arch in construction.

Leaving Perugia, we follow the road nearly to the station, and, turning off to the R., continue in the same direction as the railway towards the station of Magione.

A small farm has been built round about the vault, and above the tomb itself is a little chapel with a tower, which gives the popular name to the place.

Passing through the farmyard with its picturesque surroundings, we go down a flight of steps into a semi-circular vault, beautifully built of travertine blocks and uncemented. It resembles the tomb known as the Deposito del Gran Duca at Chiusi.

On each side of the room are vaulted recesses, in one of which are blocks of stone supposed to have been altars. They are grooved at the upper edge as if to carry off the blood, and their presence has caused the vault to be regarded as a temple. According to Dennis, however, ancient sepulchres frequently included a shrine, where offerings were made to the spirits of the dead.

An inscription of unusual length in Etruscan characters is cut in clear large letters upon the side of the vault to the L. of the entrance. From the open ground outside of the farm buildings is **a view** which will well repay those who make the excursion.

A magnificent panorama of the city of Perugia lies before us, from S. Pietro in the south-east, to S. Francesco al Monte and S. Angelo in the north-west.

MONUMENTS IN THE CENTRE OF THE TOWN

The Palazzo Pubblico and Picture Gallery

The Palazzo Pubblico is not of one date throughout, but a fair degree of uniformity in style has been maintained in the different parts. The building is mainly of the fourteenth century, when the Guelph party and the wealthy townsmen known as "Raspanti" were in power. It has

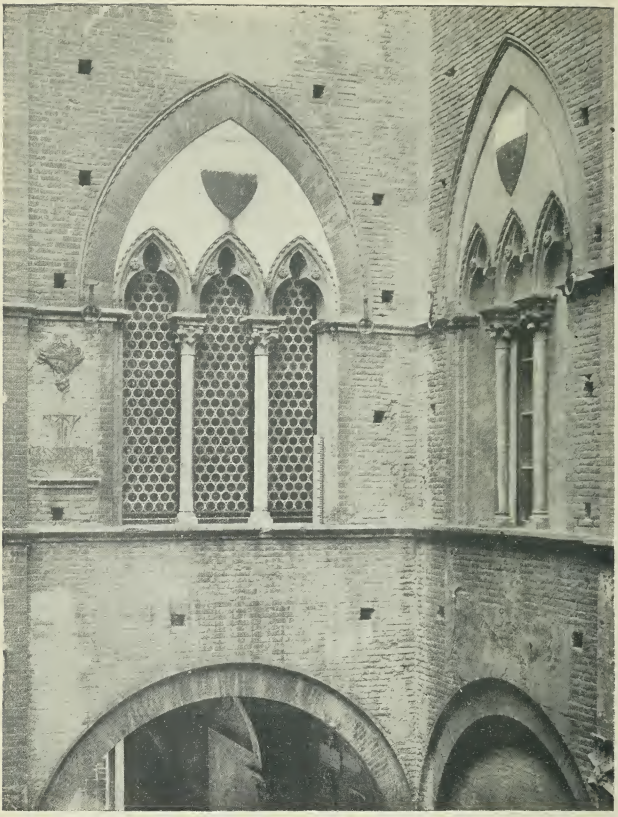
none of the character of a fortified castle such as we see in the Palazzo Vecchio and the Bargello at Florence; it is designed for purposes of city government only. Its architecture is not interesting as such, nevertheless there is a general air of magnificence symbolical of the thriving commune, ruled by well-to-do citizens.

A building for public purposes was begun at the end of the thirteenth century, the year 1281 being usually given as the date. In 1300 a number of houses occupying part of the site of the present palace were bought, so that a more honourable place might be built, and in connection with this purchase it is mentioned that quarrels had already arisen about S. Severo, a church which occupied part of the site. In 1333 the foundation of the central part of the present building was laid, and the fine doorway opening on to the Corso is attributed to 1340. The Priors had been living in the palace of the Canonica, but in 1346 additions were made to the Palazzo Pubblico, and in 1353 they went to live in it. Dormitories for the Priors were added in 1429, and the mass of building as we now see it was completed at the southern end, when the part including the Sala del Cambio was begun in 1452.

The **principal doorway** of the Palazza Pubblico is a fine work covered with elaborate detail, and dating from about 1340. The general effect is extremely rich, the mouldings, jambs, and lintels are wrought with great care, and the result is picturesque in spite of over-elaboration and want of breadth and boldness in the design.

At the springing of the outer arch on each side are griffins resting on brackets. Below them, and supporting the pilasters at the sides of the door, are lions. Here we have the ensigns of the city and of the Guelph party.

The pilasters resting on the lions are sculptured with figures, to some of which inscriptions are attached. On the left at the top is a young woman dancing, inscribed "allegricia." Below is a woman with two torches, one lighted—perhaps a figure of Vigilance. The lowest figure is "Humilitas," with a lamp in her hand and a lamb at her



Photograph: Alinari

WINDOWS IN THE PALAZZO PUBBLICO, SIENA

Compare with the windows in the Palazzo Pubblico at Perugia

feet. On the R., the upper figure, a woman holding a sword, is inscribed as "Magna Veritas." In the middle, a woman with a palm branch and an animal beside her, may be a figure of Peace. The lowest figure has two serpents twined about her, probably Prudence.

In the tympanum are three statues. Two are bishops, and the other is a youthful figure in a dress resembling that of the deacon S. Lorenzo on the fountain in the piazza. Both the bishops are middle-aged, or elderly, and neither of them could therefore (as is sometimes supposed) represent S. Louis the Bishop, who died as a young man. The three figures are probably those of SS. Lorenzo, Costanzo, and Ercolano.

The moulding which encircles the tympanum is enriched with coats of arms and ensigns of Perugia and her allies. There is the Griffin of the City, the Lily of Florence, the Lilies of the French house of Naples, the Papal Keys, also shields with the legend S.P.Q.R., reminding us that at this time Rienzi established the Holy Roman Republic. On the 7th June 1347, he sent letters to Perugia and other Italian towns inviting them to send deputies to a national parliament in Rome on the 1st August. On that day Rienzi published a decree declaring the City of Rome to be the head of the World, and at night the deputies were entertained at a great banquet. Next day there was celebrated the festival of the unity of Italy, and flags were presented to the deputies of the towns. The banner of Constantine, with the white eagle on a red ground, and with the words, "Asia, Africa, Europa," was given to Perugia.

The jambs and lintels of the door are covered with small figures, among which will be found representations of Justice, Avarice, etc., but they are not named, and most of them are not of recognised types that permit of identification. In the centre of the lintel, however, it is possible to distinguish the Judgment of Solomon. The king is seated on his throne, commanding the soldier to divide the living child. To the L. is the false mother, who approves the decision, and on the R. is the true mother, begging that

the child may be saved. This, from its position, is intended to be the central idea of the sculpture. According to a mediæval saying, "The world is best disposed when Justice is most potent therein," and among the Italian communes it was a common idea to proclaim this truth on their public buildings. In the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, in the fresco representing "Good Government," Justice guided by Wisdom is the controlling force in the State; and in the Ducal Palace at Venice one of the great corner-stones has this same subject of the Judgment of Solomon sculptured upon it.

Entering by the main doorway from the Corso, and mounting the stair, we turn to the L. and reach the **Sala del Consiglio.** Over the door, in the lunette, is a painting of Madonna and Child by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. This hall is called the Sala del Malconsiglio, for it was here that it was agreed to set free the prisoners of Hawkwood's English Company, who afterwards defeated the Perugians.

In the **Sala d'Udienza** there is a portrait of Julius III. (1550-1555) by Adone Doni of Assisi. There is also a list of the twenty-five persons killed on the 20th June 1859 in the conflict with the papal soldiers.

In the reception-room of the Syndic are modern pictures representing Biordo Michelotti (d. 1398), Braccio Fortebraccio (d. 1424), Piccinino (d. 1444), and other illustrious persons connected with Perugia.

On the same level as these rooms, but to the R. of the main staircase, is the Hall of the Notaries. It is an immense room, of which the roof is supported by a series of cross arches. On the walls are coats of arms.

Returning to the main staircase and passing to the floor above, there is to the L. the **Picture Gallery,** and to the R. the **Library** belonging to the town.

The Picture Gallery

[**Art in Umbria** and in Tuscany had this much in common: it was a heritage from Etruscan ancestors. For the

rest, the widely differing circumstances of the two provinces caused a marked divergence in development.

Through Tuscany lay the highway of the nations; its rich soil and many natural advantages led to the accumulation of wealth by a race keenly alive to every force that moved mankind. The high-lying valleys of Umbria, on the other hand, were, in the Middle Ages, cut off from contact with the great world by the mountain ranges surrounding them. There was no accumulation of wealth; no great seats of learning were founded; no politics other than those of their own towns closely affected them. This life, apart from the movements and interests of the age, shielded as it was from the temptations of material wealth and beyond the reach of the intellectual development of the times, led to a certain exclusiveness and exaltation of temper depending on a keen sensibility to emotion combined with a narrow mental horizon. Devotional feeling, rather than philosophical habit, is a note of the higher type of the Umbrian mind.

Niccolo da Foligno, Bonfigli, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, Perugino and Pinturicchio began the practice of their art after the brilliant awakening of the early Renaissance had captivated men's minds; and they were all dead before the rising tide of the Catholic reaction had chilled the national genius. They lived and painted in the golden age of Italian Art.

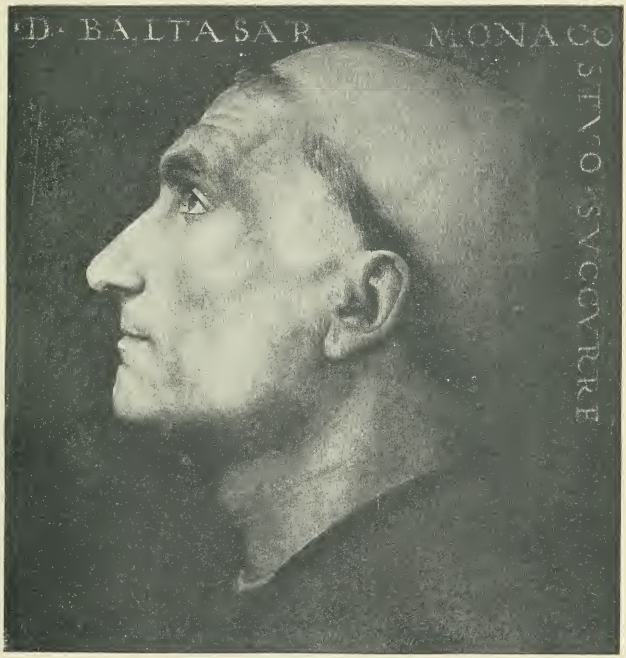
In the fifteenth century the people of the Umbrian valleys were no longer moved by the vigorous imagination of such men as S. Francis or of Jacopone da Todi, they were content with simple devotion manifested in traditional observance. It is this state of mind that the Umbrian painters so wonderfully represented. They painted the romance of the soul in its simplest operations, they imagined its moods, they expressed it in an atmosphere of mild contemplation, they perfected its expression in a beauty artificial but delicate, and with an elegance almost exotic. The flash of insight, of inspiration, of tense emotion seldom interfered with the calm detachment

of their imaginations; they knew "no bitter or severe delight." They blandly accepted things as they found them; their art owed little to enthusiasm, still less to emphasis. It was saved from commonplace by its sensibility to emotion, and by a certain aloofness of temper. It was never vulgar; it scorned no homely virtue; its simplicity saved it from the coarse struggle for popularity.

If we consider the history of Umbrian art as a whole we shall see that there was no serious attempt to deal with the nude, nor was there any development of portraiture. No Umbrian painter devoted his art to schemes of philosophy and religion such as we find in the Spanish chapel at Florence, with the possible exception of Perugino in the Sala del Cambio. Life was never portrayed in terms of classical culture as the Paduan painters tried to do. There is hardly any of that somewhat vulgar feeling for realism which prompted Ghirlandajo to paint the story of S. John the Baptist as if the child were a member of the noble family of the Tornabuoni. Nor is the history of Umbria set forth in any series of pictures such as the Venetians delighted to paint, recording their victories and their lordship over many lands.

It is characteristic of Umbrian artists that they seldom lost this primitive quality, even when they shared the widest experience of current life and art. The best-known names of the Umbrian school in the fifteenth century are connected more or less closely with Perugia, but the beginnings of their art are to be found in many parts of the province.

At Gubbio the name of *Oderisi*, a miniaturist of the thirteenth century, is well known from Dante's reference to him; he was employed at Bologna. *Guido Palmerucci*, born probably about 1280, was painting in Gubbio in the first half of the fourteenth century, and throughout that century the family of *Nelli* produced a sculptor, *Mattiolo*, and a painter, *Martino*, whose son *Ottaviano* lived until 1444. At Fabriano *Allegretto Nuzzi* was the first notable painter and one of the most considerable provincial



Photograph : Brogi

PORTRAIT OF A VALLOMBROSAN MONK

(By Perugino. In the Accademia, Florence)

One of the few portraits painted by Perugino

artists of his time. He matriculated in Florence in 1346 and died at Fabriano in 1373 or 1374. Critics are not entirely agreed about the influences which affected his art. Bernardo Daddi, Orcagna, and Ambrogio Lorenzetti have all been suggested. He has been regarded as the master of *Gentile da Fabriano*. If there was any relation it must have been one of general influence, as the supposed date of Gentile's birth, between 1360 and 1370, is about the same as the time at which the elder painter probably died. Gentile da Fabriano was the greatest artist produced by these mountain towns up to the middle of the fifteenth century. He, however, neither lived nor painted much in Umbria, and his influence is to be looked for in other parts of Italy.

In San Severino a certain *Giacomo* and *Lorenzo* painted at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, and another, *Lorenzo the younger*, supposed to have been the son of the elder Lorenzo, worked on until 1496. Lorenzo the elder was probably a follower of Allegretto Nuzzi.

At Orvieto *Ugolino di Prete Ilario* and *Pietro di Puccio* were working in the fourteenth century. At Perugia there are many fragments dating from this period by local masters of minor importance. In the fifteenth century the influence of Sienese art was powerful in Umbria, due in part to the repeated visits of *Taddeo Bartolo*. In 1445 *Giovanni Boccati da Camerino* became a citizen of Perugia. The examples of his work now in the gallery show that he was a poor painter, but as the possible master of *Bonfigli* and *Matteo da Gualdo* he is of some importance. In the case of a mature artist the general influence is of more significance than the apprenticeship to a particular master.

There were in Tuscan art two distinct tendencies which affected the Umbrian masters. One was represented by painters like Lorenzo Monaco and Fra Angelico, the other by Paolo Ucello, Piero della Francesca, and Ant. Pollaiuolo. Speaking generally, the first represented the religious and monastic mind, while the latter represented the scientific

school, the men who developed the art of perspective and of design.

The influence of *Fra Angelico* passed into Umbria through his follower *Benozzo Gozzoli* (1420-1498), a man more apt to transmit the outward form and manner than the essential spirit of the great Florentine Dominican. Benozzo was employed at Montefalco in the year 1452, and he also did work at the Sapienza, in Perugia, in 1456. Niccolo da Foligno and Antonio Mezzastris (also of Foligno) were his pupils, while Matteo da Gualdo, Giovanni Francesco da Rimini, Lorenzo da Viterbo, and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo are supposed to have been influenced by him.

The influence of the scientific Tuscan school is supposed to have reached Umbria through Piero della Francesca (1416 ?-1492), Antonio Pollaiuolo (1429-1498), and their pupil and scholar Luca Signorelli (1441-1523).

Fiorenzo di Lorenzo (1440-1521) united in himself the two strains of Florentine teaching already noticed.

The great period of Umbrian art, which in the middle of the fifteenth century was centred in Perugia, is connected with the names of *Perugino* (1446-1524) and *Pinturicchio* (1454-1513); both of them are said to have been pupils of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

Under these two masters there grew up a large school, including Raphael, Lo Spagna, Eusebio di S. Giorgio, Giannicola Manni, Francesco Melanzio, Sinibaldo Ibi of Gubbio, Domenico Alfani, and many others.

Raphael when a youth worked in the shop of Perugino, and learned some of the school manner of his master. The history of the great painter belongs to Florence, as much as to Umbria, although by birth and in some degree by early habit he is more nearly connected with the latter than the former school.

It must be noted that there was no school of Umbrian sculpture. There are in Umbria Tuscan monuments, such as the fountain at Perugia, the façade of the Duomo at Orvieto, and the reliefs on San Bernardino

at Perugia, which rank each in their own way among the great works of Italian sculptors. These Tuscan masterpieces however stirred up no movement among native artists, and there was practically no Umbrian school of sculpture. With all its limitations Umbrian art remains to us as a valuable record of Umbrian life. It is less affected than the art of the great centres by currents of feeling and modes of thought, which lost their note of individuality by the fact that they belonged to the world at large, and not to Tuscans or Venetians or Lombards only.

In the art of these secluded valleys we reach down to the true character of the people from which St Francis sprang, and we can well forgive its limitations in return for the intimate picture of primitive character unaffected by the stir and worry of the great world.

The Banners.—There is one kind of picture which ought to be mentioned as characteristic of the art of Central Italy and of the temper of the people. This is the **banner** used alike as a means of display and to express the overwrought feelings of a terror-stricken people.

Perugia was liable to terrible outbreaks of pestilence. In 1348 there was great mortality, and so deadly was the disease, that it is said neither priest nor frate would confess the sick. Between April and August 100,000 individuals are supposed to have died in Perugia and the surrounding territories, and crowds of people went in procession doing penance and fasting. On the 2nd of May in this year there was found under the high altar of the Church of S. Fiorenzo the body of that saint. On the 4th of May there was a great procession of priests, frati, and people; and they carried the body through the towns, praying God that of His mercy He would be pleased to make the pestilence cease through the merits and the intercession of S. Fiorenzo. **The banners** such as we see to-day in the Church of Sta. Maria Nuova and in the gallery in Perugia, help us to realise the horror of the unfortunate people. These pictures date from a century later, but pestilence continued

to sweep over the town long after the great outbreak of 1348.]

One entering the gallery we pass through a large hall hung with pictures of no importance, and go on to the Sala dei Cimelii.

Sala I.—This room contains a number of panels, some of which are painted in the rude native manner, founded on the Byzantine style, and others in the Sienese style of the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century.

On the wall opposite the window, Nos. **1, 2, 3,** and **4** are small panels in the Italo-Byzantine manner. On the same wall, No. **6,** a large crucifix attributed to *Margaritone* of Arezzo is dated in 1272. Over the inscription Madonna appears with hands spread in prayer and, in a circle above, Christ holds a book with part of the inscription visible, "Ego sum . . ." At the foot of the cross is a small kneeling S. Francis. The figure of Christ has the same strangely defined anatomy as the early Tuscan examples in the first corridor of the Uffizi. Those who know the picture by Margaritone in the National Gallery will find little resemblance to it in this work If the date be accepted the crucifix is practically contemporary with the Pisan sculpture on the fountain in the piazza.

No. **7.** Passion scenes with Madonna and Child in the Italo-Byzantine manner.

Nos. **9** and **10.** Two pictures of Madonna and Child in the Sienese style.

No. **11.** Triptych. Passion scenes with S. Anna and the Virgin, and Madonna and Child, attributed to *Bonaventura Berlinghieri,* one of a family of painters who were working in Lucca in the thirteenth century.

No. **14.** An elaborate altar-piece by *Meo* or *Bartolommeo,* a Sienese, who settled in Perugia in 1319; note the richly decorated nimbuses and embroidered draperies, and the generally developed manner as compared with the rude Italo-Byzantine painting of the panel No. **2.** The panel No. **14** represents more or less the condition of Sienese art

among the smaller masters of the time of Duccio. On the opposite wall, No. **22**, Madonna and Child marks the change which took place in the Sienese school under the influence of the Lorenzetti. The three pictures, Nos. **2**, **14**, and **22**, may be taken to illustrate the gradual elimination of the Byzantine style from Italian art.

No. **24**. A large altar-piece, Madonna and Child with angels and saints.

No. **26**. Madonna and Child between SS. Dominic and Peter Martyr.

No. **29**. A small fragment attributed to *Giunta da Pisa*, a name usually given to the painter who is supposed to have begun the frescoes in S. Francesco at Assisi.

In the centre of the room are cases with processional crosses and a pastoral staff of painted ivory dating from the eleventh century. Note the lamb encircled by the dragon which forms the volute.

Sala II.—Ancient chapel of the Priors.

On the walls are frescoes painted by *Benedetto Bonfigli*; he was employed by the Priors in 1454. The work was to be judged by one of three artists, Fra Angelico, Domenico Veneziano, and Fra Filippo Lippi. The decision was given by the last-named in 1461; he advised that Bonfigli should be employed to paint the rest of the chapel and that for the work four hundred Florentine florins should be paid. The painting went on so slowly that when Bonfigli came to make his will in 1496 (in which year he died) he set apart a sum for finishing it in case he was unable to do so.

Three of the frescoes are concerned with S. Ercolano, bishop of Perugia, four others with S. Louis of Toulouse.

(1) The siege of Perugia, by the Goths. In the sixth century the Emperor Justinian determined to reassert the imperial power in Italy where the Gothic kings (Theodoric and his successors) had ruled for half-a-century. The siege of Perugia was one of the incidents in the struggle. The defence of the town was directed by S. Ercolano, the bishop; and although in this particular case it was the Goths who prevailed, the imperialists were successful on

the whole, and the authority of Constantinople was for a short time re-established throughout Italy. The picture represents the last phase of the siege: food had run short, and, so that he might deceive the enemy, the bishop caused an ox to be fed with the last grain in the town and then thrown over the walls. Traitorously, or by misadventure, the ruse was frustrated by a young cleric. The scene is laid in the piazza of S. Ercolano, where the ox lies dead. Before the king stands the youth; the Goths have been undeceived and they attack vigorously. According to S. Gregory, this happened in 552, when the city was taken, the bishop was flayed, decapitated, and thrown over the walls. Some devout persons found the body and beside it that of a dead child; they were buried together, as we see in the lower right-hand corner of the fresco. Forty days later the Perugians were ordered to return to their homes. The body of the saint was found uncorrupt and with no sign of flaying, while the body of the child was decayed. The head of the saint joined itself to the body; the child, by the grace of God, when laid by the body of the saint, came back to life and lived for seven years. The frescoes Nos. 2 and 3 depict the translations of the body, which seems to have been taken first to S. Pietro and subsequently to S. Lorenzo.

The frescoes Nos. **5, 6, 7,** and **8** describe the acts of S. Louis of Toulouse; he was the eldest son of Charles the Lame, the Angevin King of Naples, and grand-nephew of S. Louis IX., King of France. In his boyhood he was imprisoned as a hostage for his father, and when he was free he renounced his rights to the crown of Naples, and joined the brethren of S. Francis. He was afterwards appointed Archbishop of Toulouse.

No. **5.** Consecration of S. Louis. He stands before the Pope in his grey habit. His single-hearted devotion seems for a moment to have aroused some sense of human dignity and worth in the mind of Bonfigli.

No. **6.** Miracle of the fish, tells the story of how a merchant who had lost a bag of money at sea finds it in

the body of a fish by the intervention of S. Louis. The fresco No. 7 is destroyed. No. 8 depicts the funeral service for the young archbishop. He lies on the bier, in the Franciscan habit, covered with a robe embossed with the lilies of France. A bishop and a number of brethren recite the office; their figures are short and undistinguished, their faces little more than caricatures of common types. The scene is set in a church shown in section and with no attempt at pictorial effect.

The interest of these frescoes by Bonfigli consists mainly in incidental illustration of the habits and dress of the time, and particularly of the appearance of the town of Perugia in the fifteenth century.

In the centre of the room are two silver gilt chalices, one of the fourteenth the other of the sixteenth century.

Sala III.—Frescoes of the fourteenth century.

These frescoes have been removed from the Church of S. Elizabeth; the date on No. **9** is 1330. They may be regarded as examples of the painting current in Perugia at the time that Giotto and Taddeo Gaddi were painting in Florence, while Simone Martini and the Lorenzetti represented Sienese art at the same period.

Turn to the R.

No. **1.** Madonna delle Grazie sheltering her votaries.

No. **9.** The miracle by which the husband of S. Elizabeth found the alms that she carried to the poor turned into roses in her lap.

No. **16.** Large figures of SS. Anthony the abbot, Anthony of Padua, and James.

No. **23.** S. Peter crucified.

No. **25.** Madonna and Child, dated 1348.

Sala IV.—A corridor containing various engravings, copies, photographs, etc., interesting in their connection with the gallery.

Sala V.—Several of the principal pictures in this room belong to the Sienese school. A glance round the room gives an impression of abundant and rich decoration, subdued to its purpose of beautiful and harmonious colour,

of graceful and refined form, and of a grave, reverend, and meditative attitude. Madonnas and saints look out from their gilt backgrounds as types of qualities rather than as men and women; it is the preaching of repentance, or the constancy of the martyrs, or the idea of Divine Love, or the life of self-denial that moved the imagination of the painters rather than the men and women who suffered and prayed and loved.

Turn to the R.

No. **4.** A fresco from the convent of Sta. Giuliana, the martyrdom of the saint.

No. **10.** Another fresco from the same convent. The saint shelters the nuns under her mantle. At her side stand S. Christopher and Cardinal Giovanni, who founded the convent, dated 1376.

No. **12.** Triptych. In the centre, marriage of S. Catherine. To the R., SS. Ercolano and Costanzo; to the L., S. Antonio of Padua and S. Louis of Toulouse with S. John Evangelist. In the central part of the picture S. Catherine of Alexandria receives the ring in token of her mystic union with Christ; to the L., another virgin martyr, S. Agnes, bears the Lamb in her bosom; between these two saints kneels the small figure of S. Elizabeth of Hungary with her lap full of roses. Over the side groups are two scenes; to the L., S. Francis receives the stigmata, and to the R., S. Jerome has a vision of the cross. In the predella, to the R., the baptism of Christ; to the L., the three Maries visit the tomb; in the centre there is a scene probably from the martyrdom of S. Agnes, and S. Elizabeth receives the sick. The picture is a summation of the monastic ideal, leading by the way of Faith (typified by the white robe of S. Agnes), Hope (shadowed in the green robe of S. Catherine) and Love (figured in the glowing red of the Cherubim), to that union with the divine, of which the mystical union of the Child with S. Catherine is a symbol.

No. **18.** The Descent of the Holy Spirit. *Taddeo Bartolo*, dated 1403. An awkward and ungraceful composition.

The problems of perspective and foreshortening have been beyond the painter's grasp in this example.

No. **19.** S. Paul, by *Taddeo Bartolo.*

No. **21.** S. Francis with SS. Anthony of Padua and Ercolano to the L.; to the R., S. Louis of Toulouse and S. Costanzo. S. Francis is surrounded by a glory of cherubim whose red wings are typical of Divine love; he stands on the forms of Pride, Lust, and Avarice, the last-named figured by a nun clinging to a purse. S. Louis of Toulouse, who abjured the crown of Naples, has the crown at his feet; as a member of the house of France, he wears over the Francescan habit a robe embroidered with lilies.

No. **23.** Madonna and Child, by *Taddeo Bartolo.* At the sides SS. Magdalen, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Catherine, from S. Francesco al Prato. We note the supreme skill of the Sienese school in decoration, and their love of magnificent yet strictly harmonious colour.

No. **24** (over the door). S. Peter, by *Taddeo Bartolo,* from S. Francesco al prato.

Sala VI.—The story of Braccio Fortebraccio is painted on the frieze by *Papacello,* a scholar of Luca Signorelli, who worked with Guilio Romano; or, according to others, the work is by Giovanni Caporali.

Turn to the R.

No. **1.** Madonna and Child with saints, by *Domenico Bartolo* of Siena, dated 1438. A decorative panel on a gold background, each saint stands in his own niche; there is no attempt to fuse the figures into a pictorial grouping.

Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6 are attributed to *Matteo da Gualdo,* who flourished between 1460 and 1503; he was a pupil of Giovanni Boccati da Camerino.

No. **5.** Madonna and Child with SS. Jerome and Chiara. The colour is cold and the general effect of the picture is harsh, but the strong and vigorous types of the painter give character and force to the work.

On the wall opposite.

No. **10.** Scenes of the Passion, and miracles of S. Ber-

nardino. He raises up a child; walks on the sea; heals the sick, by *Mariano di Antonio*, a painter whose name occurs in 1467.

No. **9** (on the upper line). A damaged panel by an unknown hand. Story of the Blessed Egidio, the friend of S. Francis. The head of Egidio is still visible. The countenance is as of one who has "fought with beasts of Ephesus"; spiritual fire burns in the old weather-beaten face.

No. **12.** Madonna and Child with S. John Baptist and three others, by *Lello da Velletri*, a painter of the second half of the fifteenth century.

No. **14.** Madonna and Child with saints, by *Pietro da Orvieto*. Note the characteristic figure of the Bishop S. Severus.

No. **15.** Pietà with the instruments of the Passion.

No. **16.** Madonna and Child, by *Gentile da Fabriano*. The figures are carefully and elaborately modelled. Beneath, seven angels carry a long scroll of music from which they sing. The picture is painted on a gold background, and there is much delicate and beautiful detail.

No. **18.** Madonna and Child with angels (over the door), by *Giovanni Boccati da Camerino*, who became a Perugian citizen in 1445, and was the reputed master of Bonfigli.

No. **19.** A large altar-piece by *Giovanni Boccati*, dated 1447. Madonna and Child are enthroned in a garden that may well be typical of Paradise; ranked round them are childish angels; to the L., raised on steps, stand the two doctors, SS. Ambrose and Jerome; to the R., SS. Augustine and Gregory the Great; in the foreground, S. Dominic and S. Francis present members of the Confraternity of S. Dominic. Madonna is the least satisfactory element in the picture; she has neither character nor expression, and is like Madonna in No. 18, little more than a lay figure. It is difficult to believe that this painter can have had any permanent influence on his scholars or on the Umbrian painters.

No. **20.** Predella of the above picture, Passion scenes,

and at the extremities SS. Thomas Aquinas and Peter Martyr.

No. **24.** Madonna and Child with angels, by *Giovanni Boccati*. Madonna has a wonderfully brocaded robe; she is seated under a canopied chair. Note a classical bas-relief on the frieze. The angels are of a more virile type than in No. 19. In the foreground putti make music and pick flowers.

In the centre of the hall two fifteenth-century caskets.

Sala VII.—No. **1.** Madonna and Child, by *Fra Angelico*. This panel and the other small panels numbered up to 18 were originally in the Church of S. Dominic. Of the smaller pictures, the Angel of the Annunciation, No. **7**, is perhaps the most interesting.

No. **19** (on the end wall). Madonna and Child with saints, by *Piero della Francesca*. In the upper part is an Annunciation; below, Madonna and Child are enthroned; to the L., SS. John the Baptist and Anthony; to the R., SS. Francis and Elizabeth of Hungary. In the predella, figures of SS. Agatha and Chiara, miracles of S. Elizabeth and S. Anthony of Padua and S. Francis receiving the stigmata. The picture has suffered much and there is now no charm of colour; it is, however, impossible to resist the solemn and reverential dignity of the composition and the masculine strength which informs the whole, all in striking contrast to the more emotional and feminine graces of the Umbrian masters.

No. **20.** Madonna and Child with SS. John Baptist and Peter, and SS. Jerome and Paul, by *Benozzo Gozzoli*, dated 1445. The influence of Fra Angelico is much more clearly marked than in the work of Benozzo painted some years later at Montefalco.

No. **21.** Madonna and Child, attributed to *Benozzo Gozzoli*.

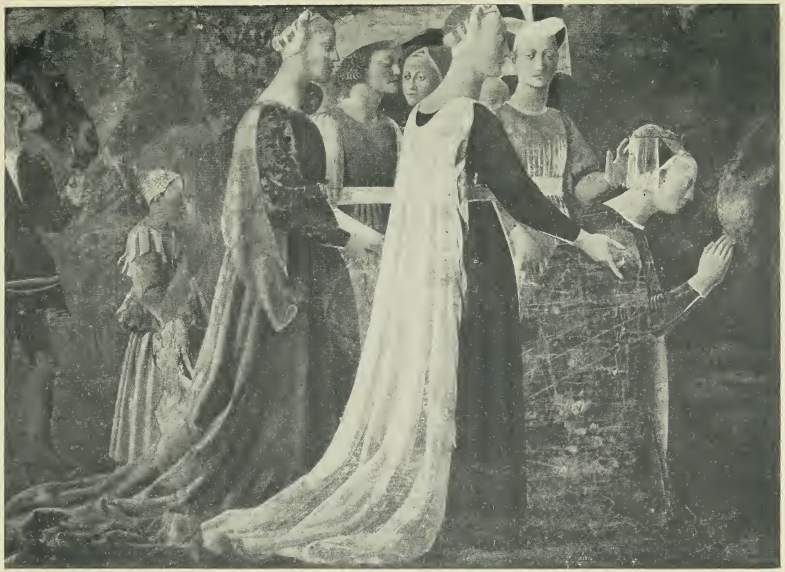
No. **22.** An immense altar-piece, by *Luca Signorelli*: a crowded composition, designed in a vigorous style. The saints to the L. are SS. Michael, Lawrence, and Francis; to the R., SS. Sebastian, Benedict, and Anthony. On the

predella the Vision of Innocent III., the Martyrdom of S. Lawrence, view of the castle of Pacciano, SS. Paul and Anthony dividing the bread, miracle of S. Anthony.

Sala VIII.—In this hall we reach the more strictly Umbrian part of the gallery. In the previous rooms the pictures of the Sienese school in its earlier phases and later in the work of Taddeo Bartolo may be regarded as the fountain-head of Umbrian art. After that comes the stately majesty of Piero della Francesca; Luca Signorelli, with his Florentine love of form; the craftsman Benozzo, who had been the assistant of Fra Angelico, and Boccati. All these had their place in the making of Umbrian art, which still remained something apart, having a well-marked quality of its own. It depended neither on the study of nature, nor on the passion of life, nor was it ascetic. Its world moved between the poles of romantic emotion and artificial convention. This detachment from common life lends a peculiar delicacy, an aloofness of sentiment, sometimes even a poignancy to emotion and to the ideal beauty which inspired the finest work of the school.

This eighth hall is known as that of *Bonfigli* (1425-1496). He is supposed to have been the pupil of Giovanni Boccati da Camerino (the painter of Nos. 18 and 19 in Sala VI.). Bonfigli is interesting as one of the earliest important Perugian painters, and also as being one of the masters of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. He was the genre painter of his school; his triviality, however, is expressed with artificial piquancy, and although his convention is childish, its prim comeliness has at times an engaging quality—naïve graciousness has caused much to be forgiven him.

No. **1.** The Adoration of the Magi, by *Bonfigli*. Madonna has the blonde complexion and the inexpressive face usual in this master's work. To her R., stands S. John the Baptist; to her L., a bishop. The three kings have rich garments, elaborately fashioned. The scene is not a historical representation; it is purely ceremonial. Motion and gesture is avoided, and in spite of the crowd, the horses,



Photograph: Alinari

THE QUEEN OF SHEBA ADORES THE MIRACULOUS BEAM

(By Piero della Francesca. In the Church of S. Francesco, Arezzo

Compare with No. 19 in Room VII, Gallery of Perugia

camels, and other incidentals of the journey, the picture is essentially a study in still life. The landscape is equally formal: a mountainous country is represented by a series of unstructural mounds.

No. **2.** Predella of the above panel, the Baptism of Christ, the Crucifixion, and a miracle of S. Nicholas.

No. 5. Madonna and Child,* by *Bonfigli*. Beneath, angels make music on a variety of instruments. This is the most popular of the master's works. The delicate complexion, the yellow hair, the white veil, are slightly relieved against the gold background of the upper part of the picture. The type is commonplace and without character, but its refinement, its daintiness, its fastidious precision save it from insipidity. No other Umbrian master has painted such a purely domestic and mundane Madonna, a sweetly natured and delicately nurtured woman without capacity for a spiritual vocation.

No. **8.** An Annunciation with the symbol of S. Luke, by *Bonfigli*. Madonna is of the same type as in No. 5, but all the little delicacies of that picture are petrified. Instead of genial graciousness and spontaneity the treatment is staccato and formal; the figure of the archangel would be more suitable as the study for a fashion plate than in a work of art. This rendering of the Annunciation is remarkable for the introduction of S. Luke with his symbol between the angel and Madonna. He sits with a calm, detached air, apparently writing down the history of the event which he witnesses. The picture comes from the College of the Notaries, and this may account for the careful record which is being made.

Sala IX.—Hall of Bartolommeo Caporali.

Bartolommeo Caporali is known as a painter between the years 1442 and 1491; it has been supposed that he was a pupil of Giovanni Boccati.

No. **1.** Gonfalone of S. Bernardino, by *Bonfigli*, from the Church of S. Bernardino. The date is 1465. In the lower part of the picture a number of persons put the candles, which they have been carrying in procession, into

a basket. S. Bernardino looks on, and in the upper part of the picture the divine approval is signified by the presence of Christ, attended by the nine choirs of angels. This is probably intended to illustrate one of the results of the preaching of S. Bernardino in Perugia. The game of "stones" was an old-established custom in the town, valued as a means of keeping up the hardihood and fighting quality of the people. The players were divided into two parties and fought, attacking each other with flights of stones and other weapons, so that men were left dead after the contest. S. Bernardino denounced this warfare, and persuaded the people to give their money to buy candles and torches to increase the magnificence of the festival of S. Ercolano, and otherwise to add to the devotion of the town. In this way there was given fifty florins, which the companies of the "Sasso," the "Maggio," and the "Monte Luce" had for the games. On the 24th February, being the feast of S. Ercolano, the body of the saint was carried in procession, all the "religious" being, as was the custom, without candles or torches, while the Priors, the Chamberlains, the treasurers, the stewards, walked with the light of torches. When they reached S. Domenico, they left the candles and torches with Baglione de Fortera and two others, who were the appointed officers for the building and repair of the Duomo; and thus they commemorated the saint with a more splendid procession instead of with games and dancing.

Nos. **2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7,** and **9.** Panels painted by *Bonfigli*, each with figures of two angels; some carry baskets of roses, others emblems of the Passion. The want of inspiration is peculiarly evident in these fragments where two figures alone appear. These demure forms have never felt the sensation of wonder; they have known no enchantment; they have never been moved by celestial raptures; they have never stood in the ranks "of the Militia of Paradise." Compare them with the Imperial Presences in the transepts of the Upper Church of S. Francesco at Assisi.

No. **8** (detached fresco, dated 1469). Christ and Madonna in glory with angels, by *Caporali*.

No. **10.** Gonfalone of the Annunciation, dated 1466. Madonna kneels at her reading-desk; the angel inclines reverently as the message is given. On the lower part of the banner there is a group of kneeling people, including brethren of the Misericordia and magistrates. They are presented by members of the order of the Servi, which had its origin in the special devotion of seven Florentines to the service of the Blessed Virgin. The picture has been attributed to *Niccolo da Foligno*.

No. **15.** Madonna and Child, a detached fresco, attributed to *Bonfigli*. To the L., SS. Jerome and Dominic offering two finely contrasted masses of black and scarlet; to the R., two figures of mendicants are seriously damaged. Madonna approaches nearly to the type of No. 5 in Sala VIII. The four angels above the frieze are childish and self-conscious.

No. **16.** Madonna and Child with angels, and SS. Bernardino, Francis, Jerome, and Thomas Aquinas, by *Benedetto Bonfigli*. The love of decoration appears in the curtain and in the frieze which divides the celestial and terrestrial groups. S. Thomas Aquinas has in his hand an open book, with an inscription saying that as Thomas has written well so he will be rewarded. This reward comes to him as illumination from the Sun of Righteousness.

No. **17** (over entrance door). Two angels, by *Bonfigli*.

Nos. 18 and 19. Seated figures in painted terra-cotta.

Sala X.—Sala di Bernardino di Mariotto.

Bernardino di Mariotto was painting at the end of the fifteenth century. From 1502 to 1521 he lived at S. Severino in the Marches; he is said to have been influenced by the school of Crivelli.

No. **1.** *Bernardino di Mariotto*. Madonna and Child with SS. Andrea and Giuliano. Madonna is seated under a baldachino on a high throne; around her is a garland of flowers. S. Giuliano bears a sword and an olive branch; S. Andrea bears a fish, a symbol at once of his means of

living and of his mission. The figure of the latter saint indicates an eccentricity of temperament unusual among Perugian painters.

No. **8.** Pietà, attributed to *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo*; much damaged.

No. **6.** The Marriage of S. Catherine. This is less unpleasant than the other large pictures by *Bernardino di Mariotto*.

No. **3.** The Virgin with the Child Christ and the little S. John, by *Bernardino di Mariotto*. Madonna is seated on a high throne under a baldachino. In the foreground, SS. Benedict and Francis, representing the old and the new forms of the Monastic ideal. There is the same eccentricity and lack of spontaneous vitality in these two figures as in the S. Andrea of No. 1.

No. **9** (over the door). Madonna and Child with S. Dominic and a Dominican nun.

No. **10** (on the window wall). Madonna della Misericordia, by an unknown painter.

No. **14.** Painted glass of the fourteenth century; the Crucifixion.

No. **13.** The Nativity, a fresco by the school of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

On the end wall.

No. **10.** Madonna and Child; the Mystic Marriage of S. Catherine; S. Nicholas to the L. A design of great simplicity and dignity but not fused into an organic whole; each figure suggests a separate thought. There is solidity and vigour together with a harmonious reserve unusual in any of the earlier Perugian painting. S. Catherine is at once beautiful and free from any effeminacy. The picture is attributed to *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo*.

Sala XI.—Contains a number of sixteenth-century frescoes removed from the house of the Pontani family demolished in 1845.

Sala XII.—Hall of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

In the work of this painter we pass from the feeble prettiness of Bonfigli to an art of stronger character. The

men and women have force and articulation of frame; their obtuse and rather heavy faces are not, it is true, beautiful, but they bespeak character. The sense of colour is undeveloped, and it would be useless to pretend that the work of Fiorenzo, as we see it in this gallery, represents any high standard of genius. His pictures are nevertheless the work of a man of sound parts and of some capacity, and as the supposed master of Perugino (1446-1524) he demands careful attention.

No. **1.** An important picture painted on a gold background, by *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo*. Madonna and Child with SS. Peter and Benedict, S. John the Evangelist, and a mendicant; many figures in the cusps and pilasters, the Father Eternal, the Annunciation, the four doctors, etc. Note that Madonna has none of the pretty graces of Bonfigli, and that S. Peter is a fine example of hieratic assumption. It is, however, the mendicant to the spectator's R. that seems really to have liberated the power of Fiorenzo; the figure might have satisfied the heart of S. Francis, uniting as it does strong character, direct purpose, and firmness, with spiritual elevation.

No. **2.** Triptych, attributed to *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo*. Madonna and Child in the centre; SS. Bernardino and Sebastian at the sides.

No. **3.** A tondo attributed to Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. Madonna and Child with SS. John Baptist, Joseph, and another saint.

No. **4.** The Nativity, by *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo*. Madonna is a charming figure, full of simple wonder. The babe is lying on the ground in fifteenth-century fashion. S. Joseph is made to take a prominent position, he is indeed the central figure; his robe is of a raw yellow colour, distinctly inharmonious, while his expression has a curious mixture of self-righteousness and that form of humility which is apt to strike an onlooker as spiritual pride. The group of kneeling shepherds to the L. is good. The angels who hail the event are charming, and recall Florentine tradition; they fill the space of the stable, which Perugino

leaves open that we may see his lovely distances. The landscape here is strangely constructed, upright rocks bear small tablelands on which shepherds tend their flocks ; it adds neither grace nor beauty to the picture.

No. **5.** Predella * belonging to the above picture. Seven small three-quarter-length figures. To the R., S. Michael has the confident air of a conqueror, while S. Bernardino is lean, worn, and disillusioned, and S. Louis of Toulouse still has the cheerful confidence of youth. To the L., S. Jerome is a conscious and hard-working penitent. In the centre is S. Francis, clearly envisaged, but not as the joyful songster. These little paintings have an intensity rather unusual in Umbrian painting.

No. **6.** Adoration of the Magi, an important picture, attributed to *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.* Madonna is the principal element in the design, a dignified figure seen in profile ; her face is clearly defined, simple and gracious, in contrast to the blunt, undistinguished, but often charmingly unaffected faces that Fiorenzo usually paints. The group of kings and attendants as yet shows little of the breadth and spaciousness of design that characterised later painters of the school.

No. **7** (over the door into Sala XIII.). A tondo, Madonna and Child.

No. **19.** Coronation of the Virgin, by *Perugino,* from the Church of S. Francesco al Monte. The attendant angels bear festoons of flowers and float gracefully in the Empyrean. The apostles who are the earthly witnesses are moved by no spirit of exaltation ; they are broken up into groups, and between there is a glimpse of distant landscape. The picture is dated in 1502.

No. **20.** S. Sebastian, attributed to *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.*

No. **21.** Madonna and Child,* attributed to *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.* To the L., SS. Peter and Francis ; to the R., SS. Andrew and Mustiola. Note the small figures in the predella, and particularly the tense figure of S. John with deeply marked features ; the clearly-cut detail suggests some reminiscences of metal working and the treatment

generally recalls the school of Mantegna. The bright eager face of S. Bonaventura sees the brilliant vision, of which he preached to his hearers. Notice the gracious presence of Sta. Mustiola, who stands at the L. of the picture. She is the patroness of Chiusi, and was martyred under Aurelian.

No. **22.** S. Anthony Abbot, attributed to *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.*

No. **25.** Pietà, with SS. Mary Magdalen and Jerome, attributed to *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.* In the centre of the room embroidered stoles, maniples, and mitres.

Sala XIII.—No. **1.** A niche originally in the sacristy of S. Francesco al Prato. At the sides, SS. Peter and Paul; within the niche, Madonna and Child with angels. Note the flowing draperies and fluttering ribbons of the latter. In the predella, SS. Louis, Bernardino, Francis, and Ercolano. Signed by *Fiorenzo Lorenzo* in 1482.

Nos. **2–9.** Eight panels originally in the sacristy of S. Francesco al Prato. The pictures set forth the beneficence and the miraculous power of S. Bernardino. 2. Child injured by a bull. 3. A youth injured by armed men. 4. Healing of a man with a broken head. 5. Healing of a blind man. 6. Miracle for the benefit of a prisoner. 7. Healing of one injured by a fall. 8. Healing of one possessed. 9. A woman cured of barrenness.

Sala XIV.—Hall of Perugino.

[Perugino had two gifts which separate him to some extent from his more ordinary Umbrian contemporaries. He saw things in fine spatial relation, and he saw men and women as they were moved by the inner life of the soul.

The gift of seeing things in space seldom forsook him. His spaciousness of vision is not merely the result of extreme simplification in design, as in the Crucifixion at S. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi in Florence, or in the martyrdom of S. Sebastian at Panicale; the crowd in the "Giving of the Keys" in the Sistine Chapel, and the gathering of the disciples in the "Entombment" at the Pitti, are just as freely placed in the illimitable as the single figure

on the cross. Perugino's spaciousness is the chief source of the charm we find in his landscapes. His imagination freely responds to the beauty of his native country; its noble valleys, wide uplands, serene atmosphere, brilliant colouring, in his hands arouse in us the sense of some earthly paradise steeped in everlasting harmonies, stretching far beyond time and space.

The other gift that distinguished Perugino, the imaginative grasp of the inner life of the soul, was less sure. The inner life which his imagination saw was of a negative kind, yet he has expressed its peculiar character with distinction. His imagination unencumbered by subtleties saw things directly. He gave form to his visions in figures that might have been commonplace but for the gravity of his artifice. His unpretending manner gives character; his genius thus reaches an expression of quickening emotion.

Perugino's imagination was nurtured in an enclosed garden; in this atmosphere of reticent tenderness, withdrawn from the perplexities of life, he found the secret of a devout beauty, passively acquiescent in its aloofness. Perugino was a master in the art of painting the moods proper to a naturally devout people. When these moods pass to us through his imagination, we have pictures of refined and delicate beauty; when the mood arouses no corresponding emotion in the painter his art becomes a ritual. The Umbrian temper was essentially romantic. Perugino is apt to merge it in an academic formula. His urbane habit distrusted enthusiasm: his saints are sensitive without asceticism; their longing is without passion; their mystical feeling has none of the enchantment of the unknowable. He eschews rhetoric, he is not heroic, he is ruffled by no apocalyptic vision, he never offends by arrogance or the arts of self-advertisement. His imagination works in silence; his simple ecstasy leads to no profound emotion, but it lies beyond the bounds of any vulgar standard. He sometimes rises to great heights, occasionally students of his art are puzzled by his lapses. The

Photograph : Mansell

THE ANGEL AND TOBIT

By Perugino. In the National Gallery

Compare with the work of Perugino in the Gallery at Perugia

somewhat negative tendency of his genius and his lack of close contact with life probably rendered him peculiarly liable to fall into uninspired convention. With all his defects and limitations, however, he has added a great sum of beauty to the possession of mankind, and the traveller will often find his eyes wandering from the work of greater masters to the charming colour and the lovely landscapes which recall the shores of Lake Trasimeno and the sunlit valleys of the Apennines.]

Pietro Vannucci, known as Perugino, was born at Città della Pieve, a small hill-set town near the railway that runs between Chiusi and Orvieto. He came to Perugia to learn the art of painting, and became the pupil of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. Besides his own ability as a painter Perugino owes his fame to the fact that in his shop Raphael worked as a youth. With the possible exception of the frescoes in the Sala del Cambio, there is now none of Perugino's best work in Perugia; nevertheless, there are a number of fairly characteristic examples in the picture gallery, and of these the following should be noticed :—

The Coronation of the Virgin, Sala XII. 19. The Baptism, 9; the Nativity, 18; the Crucifixion, 22; in Sala XIV. Madonna and Child, 2, Sala XV. The Transfiguration, 5, and Madonna and Child with Saints, 7, in Sala XVII. The Nativity, 33, Sala XVIII.

No. **1.** S. Giacomo della Marca.

No. **2.** S. Sebastian, by *Perugino*, dated 1518.

No. **5.** The Father Eternal surrounded by a heavy aureole with seraph heads, by *Perugino*.

Nos. **9** (the Baptism of Christ) and **18** (the Nativity) formed part of an altar-piece painted by *Perugino* for the Church of S. Agostino. These two large panels are curiously insipid. The figures are enfeebled and purposeless; it needs painful effort to keep hold of any sense of vitality. The landscape has a wasted air, as if it might be the setting to some temple in which life is lost in oblivion. We may note Umbrian limitation in the rendering of the nude, also the static condition of the design, nothing moves. Even

the dove of the Holy Spirit, which usually sweeps down on the scene with something of power, is here set in a mechanically formed halo, able to do nothing more than spread its wings within its narrow bounds. The Baptist, though he may be in harmony with the rest of the picture, is scarcely the preacher of repentance, the forerunner and martyr. There is a painful air of vacuous self-consciousness about the whole picture.

The picture of the Nativity, No. **18,** delicate in all its qualities, and with an air of grace and refinement, attains within its own limitations a certain success, but the limitations are narrow and the conventions of the picture react upon the slighter and less permanent of human emotions.

No. **22.** The Crucifixion; was painted originally on the other side of the panel, No. 19 in Sala XII., the Coronation of the Virgin. The figure of Christ, modelled in wood, hangs on a wooden cross, and for this sculpture Perugino painted a background. Madonna and S. John stand at the sides of the cross, S. Mary Magdalene and S. Francis kneel in the foreground. Two angels float in the air and catch the blood that drops from the hands. The physical manifestations at the time of the Crucifixion are indicated by a shining sun to the left and a darkened one to the right. Madonna wears an air of pensive and resigned melancholy. S. John displays a type of feminine weakness unusual even for Perugino. Penitence and Humility are but poorly represented in the Magdalene and S. Francis. It cannot be said that the result justifies this combination of sculpture and painting.

Sala XV.—No. **1.** S. Jerome as a Penitent, by *Perugino.*

No. **2.** Madonna and Child with two angels in adoration floating in the sky. In the background are the kneeling members of a confraternity. Madonna is crowned as Queen of Heaven, but neither mother nor child are nimbed. We see how well the Perugian painters were able to interpret the simple feeling of Umbrian life: the meditative piety of those who had learned each to dwell

with himself, the somewhat negative spirituality of people who observe their duty rather than feel its sanction. No one, however, can miss the charm of the mild sentiment and the rich colour. The work of *Perugino* in 1497.

No. **3.** S. John Baptist with SS. Antony of Padua and Sebastian, and SS. Jerome and Francis, by *Perugino*.

No. **5.** SS. Mary Magdalen and Jerome, by *Perugino*.

Sala XVI.—Nos. **1** and **2.** Small panels from the church of the Monastery at Monteluce, by *Berto di Giovanni*.

No. **6.** S. Peter Martyr, from the Monastery of Colombo, dated 1505. School of Perugino.

No. **7.** The Blessed Colombo, from the same monastery, dated 1510.

No. **13.** Madonna and Child with S. James and S. Francis, originally in the sacristy of S. Francesco al Monte. Attributed to *Giannicola Manni*.

No. **14.** S. John writing the Apocalypse; an unhappy design.

No. **16.** Coronation of the Virgin, dated 1517, attributed to *Berto di Giovanni*, originally in S. Agnese.

No. **30.** L'Ognissanti. In the upper part Christ is seated with Madonna and S. John Baptist in adoration. Below are seven saints, S. Peter in centre with SS. Jerome, Paul, S. Sebastian, Peter Martyr, Stephen, Chiara, and Magdalen, painted by *Giannicola Manni* in 1507. Originally in the Church of S. Domenico. The landscape is lovely, and the colour of the whole is harmonious and pleasant.

No. **31.** Madonna and S. John, by *Giannicola Manni*.

No. **32.** Crucifixion, by *Perugino*.

No. **33.** The Father Eternal, attributed to *Giannicola Manni*.

Sala XVII.—Hall of Bernardino di Betto (Pinturicchio).

[Before dealing with the followers of Perugino we must consider an example of the work of *Pinturicchio* (1454-1513), who may be regarded as an equal rather than as a scholar or follower. Pinturicchio had an independent and individual standpoint, which he maintained to the end in

spite of the influences surrounding him in Rome and Siena, where he spent a large part of his life.]

No. **1.** A large altar-piece painted in 1495. The picture is pleasing in colour, and the Angel of the Annunciation is a beautiful figure with a fine sense of arrested motion; otherwise the interest is mainly in the ideas which are set forth. The redemption of man is the theme. This is rendered possible by the Incarnation: and the history of this event is detailed in its beginning, in the Annunciation; in its manifestation, in the Child who sits on His mother's knee; in its completion, in the sacrifice foreshadowed by the cross which the child Baptist gives to the child Christ; and in its fruition, in the Resurrection from the tomb. Over the whole is the dove of the Holy Spirit. The note of the picture is struck in the inscription, which may be rendered: "Look, O mortal, by whose blood thou art redeemed. So act, that it may not have flowed in vain." In the other parts of the picture we see how man is taught to act rightly. In small circles at the base of the picture are the four Evangelists, who record the Gospel, so that all may know the good tidings. Beneath the figures of the Angel and Madonna in Annunciation stand two Doctors, SS. Jerome and Augustine, the translator of Scripture and the greatest teacher of the Latin Church.

Humility and Penitence are necessary conditions of the mind, if the teaching of Scripture and of the Fathers is to have its way. So in two small pictures at the bottom of the picture these states are impressed on us. S. Augustine receives a lesson of humility from the child who is trying to empty the sea into the hole he has made in the sand—the great bishop perceives that he may as well hope to fathom the mystery of the Trinity; while in another picture S. Jerome is seen in the wilderness beating his breast before a crucifix in an agony of remorse and penitence.

Nos. **3** and **4.** S. Augustine with four followers and S. Jerome, by *Pinturicchio*.

No. 5. The Transfiguration, by *Perugino*. Christ is clothed in white and surrounded by an aureole. The

landscape is an example of Perugino's imaginative treatment of space. The feathery trees, the blue waters of the distant lake, the delicate tones of the gently moulded hills, the gradation of the limpid atmosphere make a harmonious and direct appeal. The conception of the Christ is weak and poor, the witnesses of the mystery are uninteresting, and the detail of the mandorla, with its trifling cherub heads, causes us to marvel how such a thing could be imagined by anyone with a sense of artistic fitness.

No. **7.** Madonna and Child with SS. Nicholas and Bernardino of Siena.

No. **9.** Madonna and Child in the clouds attended by angels; beneath kneel SS. Francesco and Bernardino and in the distance a crowd of worshippers. Both these pictures are by *Perugino*; they lack the limpid transparency, the richness of colour, and the spaciousness on which so much depends in this master's painting.

The easel pictures of the scholars of Perugino may be more conveniently studied and compared in this gallery than elsewhere. The principal followers were Eusebio di S. Giorgio (1462-1554), Lo Spagna (Giovanni Spagna, working 1516-1532 ?), Sinibaldo Ibi (still living in 1558), Giannicola Manni (died 1544), Domenico Alfani (1483-1553 ?), Bernardino di Mariotto (end of the fifteenth century).

No. 10. Madonna and Child, by *Eusebio di S. Giorgio*, dated 1509, from the Church of S. Agostino.

No. 11. The Father Eternal in blessing. Supposed to be part of the Deposition by *Raphael*, now in the Borghese gallery at Rome.

No. 12. Adoration of the Magi, originally in the Church of S. Agostino and dated 1505; usually attributed to *Eusebio di S. Giorgio*, although some recent critics have ascribed the picture to *Raphael*.

No. 14. Madonna and Child, supposed to have possibly been a sketch by *Raphael* for the Madonna di Casa della Staffa.

No. 15. Madonna and Child, by *Eusebio di S. Giorgio.* The lighting of the picture is good, and the contrast between the red robe of S. John and the black robe of S. Benedict is fine. The tradition of Perugian landscape is already falling away into formalism.

No. **16.** S. Anthony between SS. Francis and Bernardino, by *Eusebio di S. Giorgio,* from the Church of S. Francesco al Prato. A very inferior picture.

No. **17.** Madonna and Child, a fresco by *Giovanni Spagna.*

No. **19.** Madonna enthroned with the Child, attributed to *Spagna.* To the R., SS. Anthony and Jerome; to the L., S. Francis and S. John the Baptist. The latter has wandered far from the desert. He appears as a rather over-refined man of the world. S. Francis, also, is no Apostle of Poverty. If, however, we forget all about such things and regard the pictures as a charming study of colour set in a beautiful landscape, it has undeniable quality, and it places the master as one of the most successful of the followers of Perugino.

No. **18,** by *Lo Spagna,* represents the Father Eternal bearing the globe of the world and surrounded by insignificant angels. It is a poor picture, and serves to remind us of the inequality of this master's work.

Sala XVIII.—On the window wall. No. **13.** Madonna della Misericordia with devotees under her mantle.

No. **16.** Adoration of the Magi, by *Domenico Alfani.* This artist shows the influence of Raphael rather than that of Perugino, and also illustrates the incapacity of most of the followers of these two masters.

No. **17.** The Deposition, by *Cristoforo Gherardi.*

No. **18.** The Crucifixion, a fresco of 1523. Inferior work attributed to *Pompeo Cocchi.*

No. **19.** *Domenico Alfani.* Madonna with angels about to place a crown upon her head. The Child turns towards S. Peter, who stands on the L.; S. Paul is on the R. S. Nicholas with three bags of money, and Sta. Lucia with two eyes on a dish, kneel in front.

No. **22.** The Annunciation, a mannered and futile work, by *Sinibaldo Ibi.*

No. **26.** The Nativity, by *Domenico Alfani.*

No. **27.** Madonna and Child with saints, by *Sinibaldo Ibi.*

No. **31.** A detached fresco from San Francesco al Monte, is attributed to *Lo Spagna* or *Eusebio di S. Giorgio.* It represents S. Francis receiving the stigmata. The wild desert of La Verna becomes a smiling valley with a summer sea in the distance. Nevertheless the artist makes some attempt in the figure of S. Francis to grapple with the struggle of the soul.

No. 28. Madonna and Child with saints, by *Domenico Alfani,* showing the influence of Raphael at the time he was affected by Fra Bartolommeo.

No. 29. Madonna and Child with SS. Sebastian and Augustine, dated 1509. A futile work attributed to *Berto di Giovanni* and *Sinibaldo Ibi.*

No. 30. Madonna and Child enthroned in a niche, an example of the trifling affectations of the work of *Sinibaldo Ibi.*

No. **33.** The Nativity, by *Perugino.* A detached fresco. It comes from the Church of S. Francesco al Monte. This is supposed to have been one of his latest works. It is graceful and refined ; there is a tender sense of devout adoration in the kneeling figures, interfered with by no obtrusive or indifferent detail. Madonna and the shepherd next to her are examples of the Umbrian school at its best. It shows that Perugino had not lost his power of creating beautiful pictures even in the latest years of a long life. This fresco is fortunately placed here as a standard for assessing the work of the scholars.

No. **37.** A copy of Raphael's Deposition, by *Orazio Alfani.*

No. **38.** By *Domenico Alfani.* Holy Family, Madonna and Child and John the Baptist, with SS. Joachim and Joseph and S. Anne. This picture is said to have been designed by Raphael. The pomegranate is a symbol of the

fruitfulness of the new life, which had appeared in the world.

No. 39. Madonna and Child, by *Domenico Alfani*, dated 1508.

No. 40. Pietà, from S. Francesco al Prato.

No. 44. The Risen Christ, by *Giannicola Manni*.

Sala XIX.—No. 1. S. Galgano strikes his Sword into a Rock, by *Orazio Alfani*.

No. 6. A large and vulgar picture, by *Domenico Alfani*, dated 1532. Madonna and Child with SS. John Baptist and Giuliana.

No. 8. Madonna and Child with SS. Francis and Anthony.

No. 11. Crucifixion with SS. Jerome and Appollonia, by *Domenico Alfani*, from the Church of S. Francesco al Prato.

Sala XX.—No. **8.** Copy of Raphael's Deposition, by *Sassoferrato*.

No. **9.** Copy of Raphael's Madonna della Seggiola, by *Sassoferrato*.

No. **12.** Head of Madonna, by *Sassoferrato*.

Pastels attributed to *Barocci*, Nos. 19-23.

Sala XXI.—No. **11.** Christ among the Doctors, by *Orazio Alfani*.

On a screen a bas-relief of the Flagellation, by *Vincenzo Danti*.

On the same floor, opposite to the Picture Gallery, is the Library. (Biblioteca, and Archivio Antico.)

Hall of the Library

1st desk. Life of S. Francesco. Indulgence granted by Benedict XI. Large Bible with bold miniatures of the seven days of creation, supposed to be of the eleventh century. A fifteenth-century copy of Virgil.

2nd desk. Various statutes, etc., of the Arts.

3rd desk. Cicero's "Epistles" (Sweynheim and Pan-

narts, 1467). S. Augustine's " City of God " (Sweynheim and Pannarts, 1468).

" City of God "—Venice (Vindelinus de Spira, 1470). Livy (Milan, Antonius Zarotus, 1480, etc.).

The 4th and 5th desks have on them sundry fine bindings and interesting illustrations.

On the *7th desk* there is a collection of choral books.

The Hall of the Cambio

(In the Corso Vannucci. Open from 9 to 12.30, and from 2.30 to 5. Entrance, 50 centimes.)

[**The hall of the Cambio** and the chapel attached to it belonged to the guild of the money-changers and bankers. The hall was used for the general purposes of the body, and specially for the trying of causes arising among its members ; hence the name given to it—the Udienza. The chapel was used for celebrating the religious festivals which concerned the guild.

The guilds or colleges of the various trades and arts formed a most important item in the life of the Middle Ages. They were founded on ancient Roman custom, and they formed rallying-points for Latin civilisation in its contest with the barbarian invaders of Italy. Citizens and traders could only defend themselves against the descendants of Lombard and Frankish landowners by combination, and this took the form of guilds or arts. These became political, and where they were rich, as in Florence, they were the virtual rulers of the commonwealth. The full rights of citizenship could only be exercised through membership in one of them, and it was common for nobles to register themselves as members of one or other of the arts so that they might gain political influence ; indeed, so completely were ancient forms perverted, that in 1674 the colleges of the mercanzia (or merchants) and the Cambio only enrolled members of the noble class.

The " art " of the Cambio is mentioned in 1259, when its consuls took part as witnesses to a contract for the estab-

lishment of a new mint. The first existing statutes of the college are dated in 1377.

The guild of the money-changers was one of the most important in the town; its members were officially concerned in such public functions as the oversight of the building of the Duomo and in the victualling of the city.

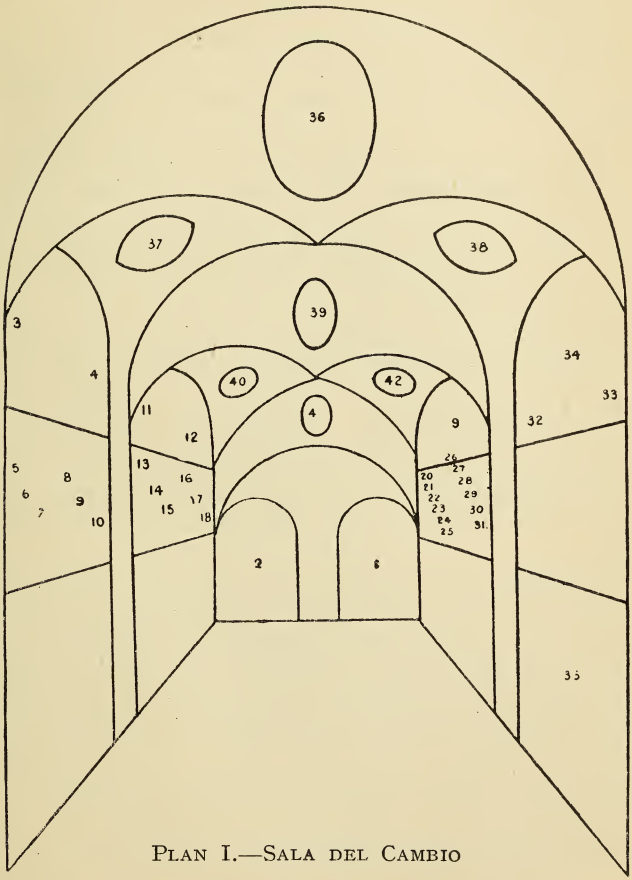
In 1428 Pope Martin V. was asked to grant leave for the building of a new hall. His permission was necessary, as the proposed site was occupied by the Church of S. Giovanni del Mercato. It was not, however, until 1441 that matters were arranged, and the building was not actually begun till 1452.

Perugino began painting in the hall in 1499, and he is supposed to have finished in 1500, though the receipt for payment was not given until 1507. The paintings in the chapel are generally assigned to the years 1515-1519.

The design of the frescoes in the Sala del Cambio has been attributed to the humanist, Francesco Maturanzio, who was invited to Perugia in 1497. He taught in the town, and acted as secretary to the Priors up to the time of his death in 1518. Among the books left by him to the city was one containing the inscriptions which appear on the walls, entitled, *In Audentia Cambia Perusiae*; the same book included the "Offices" of Cicero ornamented with fourteenth-century miniatures. The fourth of these pictures showed the four cardinal virtues which are the four fountains of "Honestum," and they were illustrated by men famous for the practice of each particular virtue. Prudence is associated with Fabius Maximus; Justice, with a Roman emperor and a French king; Fortitude, with Hannibal and Mutius Scævola holding his hand in the flames; while Temperance has Fabius Maximus and Plato.

In the hall of the Cambio the arrangement is not identical, but it follows the same train of thought. Another example of a similar kind is found in one of the rooms in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, where a like connection between the moral virtues and ancient heroes is illustrated.

The frescoes of the Sala del Cambio are interesting not only as being important works of Perugino and his scholars, but as embodying the ideas of the time on some of the



PLAN I.—SALA DEL CAMBIO

most subtle and mysterious relations of humanity. They are not in any way peculiar in this respect, for art, from the time of the Catacombs, had been the medium of expression used by thinkers to make their conclusions popu-

larly known. Such schemes of religious and philosophical thought were painted or carved not only in churches, they were common on secular monuments, as, for instance, on the fourteenth-century capitals of the ducal palace of Venice and in the sixteenth-century frescoes painted by Raphael in the halls of the palace at the Vatican.

The hall is entered from the main street. It is badly lighted, so that a sunny forenoon should be chosen for a visit.]

As we enter, two pictures face us [1]—(1) **The Nativity**; (2) **The Transfiguration.** They strike the key-note of the whole design. The problem to be solved was how the finite and transitory nature of man can be transformed into the infinite and perfect—how humanity can become again united to God.

The answer given was that Christ, by sharing in mortality, enables man to share in Divinity. This was the teaching of the mystery of the "Nativity," in which the finite is included in the infinite. The mystery of the "Transfiguration" completes the idea; it suggests that as Christ in His human condition reassumed the Divine, so man, in virtue of the mystery of the "Incarnation," has the same goal.

The object of the paintings on the two side walls and the roof is to show how all the capacities of man and the history of humanity prepare the way for the manifestation of the Infinite and for the ultimate perfection of the race. On the right wall God reveals His will directly to the chosen people through the Prophets and Sibyls. On the left wall there is an epitome of the ancient life of Greece and Rome, showing how Pagan civilisation became by the light of the Cardinal Virtues an instrument of the Divine Will. On the roof the figures of the Seven Gods and Goddesses direct us to the perfection of the rational powers of the soul. If we regard the revelation from the Father Eternal to the chosen people as developing the love of God in mankind,

[1] See Plan I., p. 71.

and the Moral Virtues of pagan life as the source of man's love of his neighbour, we have these united with a cultivation of the intellectual faculties ; so that in the full exercise of the whole range of the powers of the soul man may become fitted to receive the manifestation of the Infinite, and be prepared once more to enter into communion with the Divine.

We begin the examination of the pictures on the side walls with those on the left hand :

Prudence (3), with a beautiful four-sided mirror and a serpent twined round the handle. The inscription is—

" Quid generi humano praestas, dea, dic age. Praesto
Ne facias quae mox facta dolere queas.
Scrutari verum doceo, causasque latentes,
Et per me poterit nil nisi rite geri."

" ' Say, oh goddess ! what hast thou to offer to the human race,
That thou shalt do naught for which thou oughtest to grieve as soon as done ? '
' I teach how to search out the Truth and hidden Right,
And through me nothing can be done except fitly.' "

Below Prudence stand three figures—

(5) Fabius Maximus, the general, who by his prudence foiled the Carthaginians, subsequent to their victory at Lake Trasimeno in the Second Punic War.

(6) Socrates, the philosopher, who laid the foundation for the theory of civil and moral virtue, the father of Greek wisdom, the perfection of Prudence in its widest aspect.

(7) Numa Pompilius, the legendary founder of the institutions of the Roman state.

Next to Prudence sits (4) **Justice,** with the attributes of the sword and scales. Her inscription is—

" Si tribus his cunctos similes pia numina gignant,
Nil toto sceleris, nil sit in orbe mali.
Me culta, augentur populi belloque togaque :
Et sine me, fuerant quae modo magna ruunt."

" If the benignant gods were to bring forth all men like unto these,
In the whole world there would be naught of guilt nor of evil.
When I am observed nations wax great, both in war and in peace,
And without me that which has been mighty falls into ruin."

Below Justice stand the figures—

(8) Furius Camillus, the conqueror of Veii, and five times Dictator. A schoolmaster of Falerii who had offered to betray his town to Camillus, was sent back in chains, and his fellow-citizens, in admiration of the justice of the Romans, surrendered to him.

(9) Pittacus, ruled Mytilene for ten years, and when order was restored and established by his good government, he voluntarily resigned.

(10) Trajan, who heard the prayer of the widow. A falcon belonging to the son of the Emperor killed a fowl belonging to the widow ; her son strangled the falcon and was killed by the Prince. At the prayer of the widow Trajan heard her cause, and ordained that the Prince, his son, should die, or become as a son to the widow.

The next Virtue is **Fortitude** (11). She has a shield and mace. The inscription is—

" Cedere cuncta meis pulsa et disjecta lacertis
Magna satis fuerint tres documenta viri.
Nil ego pro patria timeo, charisque propinquis ;
Quaeque alios terret, mors mihi grata venit."

" Three men are mighty proofs enough, that all things yield, driven back, and cast down by my arms. I fear nothing for fatherland, nor for dear kindred, and Death that frightens others to me is welcome."

Under Fortitude stand—

(13) L. Sicinius Dentatus, a Roman who is said to have fought 120 battles, and to have had the scars of forty-five wounds on the front of his body.

(14) Leonidas, the King of Sparta, who defended the pass of Thermopylæ against the Persians.

(15) Horatius Cocles, the defender of Rome against the Etruscan army under Porsenna. By his defence of the bridge across the Tiber, time was gained to destroy it, and so the city was saved.

The last of the Virtues is **Temperance** (12). She mixes water with wine. The inscription is—

> " Die, dea, quae tibi vis ? Mores rego pectoris aestus
> Tempero ; et his alios, cum volo, reddo pares.
> Me sequere, et qua te superes ratione docebo.
> Quid te quod valeas vincere majus erit ? "

" ' Tell me, Goddess, what would you have ? ' ' I govern character. I temper the passions of the heart. And when I will I make others like unto these. Follow me and I will teach thee in what fashion thou canst overcome thyself. What can be greater than to have power thyself to conquer ? ' "

Under Temperance stand—

(16) Publius Scipio, the conqueror of Spain and Carthage, who refused the office of Consul and Dictator for life which the people offered him.

(17) Pericles, the Athenian statesman, who died without having had any personal gain from the state.

(18) Cincinnatus, who was appointed Dictator and taken from the plough, and after his term of office laid it down of his own accord.

These philosophers and heroes of ancient Greece and Rome ranged under the moral virtues, make for us a magnificent synthesis of Pagan life, justifying the saying of Dante that " it must be evident, when we recall the lives of these and other divine citizens, that they could not have wrought so many wonderful deeds had not some light of the Divine Goodness been added to their own goodness of nature."

The light of the Divine Goodness is, according to the design of these pictures, that of the Moral Virtues, and out of this grew the Roman Empire, founded not on force,

but on Divine Reason. The great men of classical life were instruments wherein many a time the arm of God was seen to be present. This was made most clear when the earth was prepared for the birth of Christ by the universal peace which reigned in the world as the result of the power of the Roman Emperor. Christ chose to be born at a time when the ship of human fellowship was speeding to the due port.

Thus the great men of Pagan times, on whose goodness was founded the Roman Empire, were preparing the world for the coming of Christ, though they lived only in the twilight of the moral virtues.

Turning now to the wall on the right-hand side of the hall, the lunette in the bay farthest from the door (19) has a representation of the Father Eternal, holding the globe of the universe in His hand, and attended by angels. Below, in the position corresponding to the heroes of Greece and Rome, are **six Lawgivers, Prophets, and Kings of the Hebrews,** and **six Sibyls**—women who were supposed to have prophetic powers, and to have foreseen the coming of the Messiah. Beginning at the end farthest from the door they stand in the following order :—

(20) Isaiah.	(26) Erythrean Sibyl.
(21) Moses.	(27) Persican ,,
(22) Daniel.	(28) Cumean ,,
(23) David.	(29) Libycan ,,
(24) Jeremiah.	(30) Tiburtian ,,
(25) Solomon.	(31) Delphican ,,

To these have been granted a direct inspiration and an insight more clear than that of the Pagans into the divine purpose. As the Empire of Rome prepared the way politically, so these prophets and seers make ready the souls of men to receive the message of the new dispensation.

Thus both the ancient civilisation of Greece and Rome and the nation of the Jews were divinely appointed forerunners of the Messiah.

The connecting link between the classical heroes and

the Hebrew prophets is found in Cato, whose figure is painted beside the entrance door (not shown in the plan). He is to be regarded as the greatest of Pagans, the one who by the force of his moral nature approached most nearly to the light of the Gospel dispensation. According to Dante, Cato, although enjoying only the light of the cardinal virtues (*Purg.*, i. 37), is the guardian of the island of Purgatory ; he receives the souls of the blessed and sets them on their way towards the circles of the mountain where they are cleansed from sin. He forms an exception to the rule that only those who have lived by faith can pass beyond the courts where Dante finds the rest of the virtuous heathen.

The inscription at his feet is as follows :—

> " Quisquis vel celebri facturus verba corona
> Surgis, vel populo reddere jura paras,
> Privatos pone affectus : cui pectora versant
> Aut amor aut odium, recta tenere nequit."

" Let whosoever risest to utter words possessing the illustrious crown,
Or goest about to render justice to the people,
Put away all private affections: For he whose heart is swayed
Either by love or hate, may not stand for the right."

The **painting on the roof** is decorative in character. Seven gods and goddesses appear among scrolls and ornamental designs of unusual delicacy and verve. They are attributed to Perugino's pupils working from the master's designs.

Over the pictures of the Nativity and the Transfiguration is **Jupiter** (41), Sagittarius and Pisces being on the wheels of his chariot. Over Fortitude and Temperance is **Mars** (40), with Aries and Cancer. Over Prudence and Justice is **Mercury** (37), with Gemini and Virgo. Over the Prophets and Sibyls is **Saturn** (41), with Capricorn and Aquarius. Over the judgment bench is **Venus** (38), with Taurus and Libra. Over the entrance is **Luna** (36), with

Cancer. Over the centre is **Apollo** (39), with Leo. These symbols must be considered in their relation to the wall paintings.

The earth was thought to be in the centre of the universe and round it circled a number of heavens, each impelled in its course by one of the choirs of angels. The choirs each had their appointed duty in relation to the manifestation of some form of the divine will—and in this way the movement of each heaven took its part in the divine order of the universe. The heavens were associated with the sciences in the following way :—

(36)	the heaven of	Luna	was associated with	Grammar.
(37)	,,	Mercury	,, ,,	Dialectic.
(38)	,,	Venus	,, ,,	Rhetoric.
(39)	,,	Apollo (the Sun)	,,	Arithmetic.
(40)	,,	Mars	,, ,,	Music.
(41)	,,	Jupiter	,, ,,	Geometry.
(42)	,,	Saturn	,, ,,	Astronomy.

Thus these seven figures of gods and goddesses stand for the Trivium and Quadrivium ; that is, for the seven sciences, which in mediæval schemes of education train the mind and fit it for the further study of physics, moral philosophy, and theology (see "Convito," ii. chaps. xiv. and xv.). We may therefore regard the paintings on the roof as indicating the method by which the divine will, acting through the movement of the heavens, enlightens the human mind intellectually.

The bay nearest to the door on the right-hand side is occupied by the judgment seat of the college (No. 35).

Over this bench is a gilded figure of **Justice** (34) with globe and sword, guarded by a Perugian griffin on each side (32, 33). The inscription is—

> "Caelos rego, inferis
> Impero, judico inter
> Mortales, ergo me colet."

" I guide the heavens,
I command hell,
I judge among mortals,
Therefore worship me."

The intarsia work throughout the hall is worthy of study; it is of the same period as the painting.

On the pilaster of the L. wall, between the two bays, there is a **portrait of Perugino,** painted by himself (43). It is the face of a strong, self-willed man of determined character and of no great refinement. It leaves us wondering that such an one should have cared to paint the pasteboard heroes over his head.

The inscription in connection with the portrait runs—

" Perdita si fuerat, pingendi
Hic rettulit artem :
Si nusquam inventa est
Hactenus, ipse dedit."

" If the art of painting had been lost, here it would have been found. If it had never been invented, he would have supplied it."

Reviewing the monument as a whole we have in the pictures of the Nativity and the Transfiguration the passage of the Infinite into the Finite and the reassumption of the Infinite by that which had taken the form of the Finite. By the first process it becomes possible for man to reach out towards the Divine, and by the second is set before us the true aim of man, viz., to join in the community of the Infinite.

The rest of the pictures are devoted to showing how man is to be fitted for his final end. The will is rightly directed by the practice of the moral virtues and by direct inspiration from the Father Eternal, and the whole capacities of man are duly governed by a reasoning faculty, cultivated under the divine influence which is manifested in the Seven Liberal Arts.

The Nativity is a good example of Perugino's work; a quiet dignity and solemnity pervades the picture. The angels singing "Gloria in Excelsis Deo," the mother in placid adoration, the shepherds kneeling with unaffected devotion, the beasts of the field resting in their stable, and the gracious landscape are all typical of the mystical harmony accompanying the union of the human and the divine—that mystery which is the object of reverent joyfulness to the whole creation. **The Transfiguration** has failed to inspire the painter. There is neither grace in the design nor charm in the colour.

The figures of the Virtues are indifferent examples of the women Perugino was accustomed to paint. The Greek and Roman heroes arranged under them can only be regarded as a travesty of humanism. They have not life enough to simulate human beings; they are not sufficiently informed by thought to constitute symbols in more than the name. The mincing and trifling air of these unrealities is equally removed from grace and from purpose. Cato himself (to the R. of the entrance door) is hardly better than the rest; any possible point that there might have been is effectually destroyed by the petty toy he wears on his head.

The prophets and sibyls on the R. wall are rather less grotesque than the heroes, but there is the same essential want of character, the same lack of artistic capacity, with an equal deficiency of intellectual force and feeling.

In spite of the comparative failure of some of the individual elements in the decoration of this little hall, it is a very fine example of what may be done to give character to a building. The intarsia of the panellings and the carving of the judicial bench combine with the colour on the walls and roof, so that the general effect is fine and worthy of the study of all who care for the grace and dignity of the surroundings of daily life.

Chapel of the Sala del Cambio.—The chapel is entered from the Udienza. The paintings are attributed to Giannicola Manni (working 1493-1544), a pupil of Perugino, who is said to have painted under Andrea del Sarto (1486-

Photograph: Brogi

FILIPPO SCOLARI

(By Andrea del Castagno. In S. Appollonia, Florence

Compare with Perugino's heroes in the Sala del Cambio at Perugia

1531). They are usually dated in the years between 1515 and 1519.

The altar-piece has in the centre a Baptism of Christ, and at the sides the Archangel Gabriel and Madonna in Annunciation. The paintings on the walls are concerned with the life of S. John the Baptist. To the L., on the side wall, is the Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, and on the side wall to the R. is the Nativity of the Baptist. The history is continued on the L. wall with the Feast of Herod, and on the R. wall opposite, the Baptist is beheaded. The under sides of the arches which span these two last pictures are decorated with a variety of small designs, including warriors in Roman armour, Christian virtues, episodes from the life of Christ and S. John the Baptist, David preparing to slay Goliath, and Judith and Holofernes. They are not of any importance as works of art, but they illustrate the catholicity of mind and taste resulting from the revival of classical learning. Another suggestion of this mingling of ideas may be found in the figures of the two sibyls—the Erythrean and the Libycan—painted over the arches.

The paintings on the roof illustrate the general conception, of which the paintings below are the particular application. On the walls and on the altar-pieces we have the life of the Forerunner, the Annunciation of Messiah, and the Baptism which marks the beginning of the preaching of the Gospel. On the roof there is a generalisation of the source of the Gospel and the means by which it was preached and spread abroad throughout the whole world. In the centre of the roof is the Father Eternal, and immediately surrounding are the four writers of the Gospels, with S. Peter, the Apostle of the Jews, and S. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles. SS. Andrew and James complete this part of the design. The outer part of the picture contains the seven other Apostles, the four Doctors of the Latin Church, and the three saints especially connected with the Christian faith in Perugia, viz., S. Lorenzo, S. Costanzo, and S. Ercolano.

Round the seats are the following inscriptions. To the L.—

"Ite procul, moneo sacer est locus, ite profani."
"Let the impious keep far off. I warn that the place is holy."

To the R.—

"Hic nisi casta loqui sancta que verba nefas."
"Here it is wrong to speak, unless with pure and holy words."

The pictures in this chapel are interesting, as showing the development of Umbrian art among the followers of Perugino, otherwise they need not detain the visitor. There is a much finer example of the work of Giannicola Manni in the gallery.

In the **Piazza del Municipio,** to the west, is the Episcopal Palace, to the north, the Duomo. In the centre of the Piazza is

The Fountain

This monument is important as being a fine example of Italian sculpture when that art was in its most critical stage of development; it is interesting as a curious illustration of the ideals of life in a free Italian commune at a time when the people had thrown off external control, and had not yet fallen victims to passion and faction. It is, besides, valuable as a record of the customs, habits, and appearance of all ranks of society at the end of the thirteenth century.

The work was given to Fra Bevignate, a Benedictine, along with a Frate Alberto and a certain Boninsegna, a Venetian architect. It was begun in 1277, and water, brought from Monte Pacciano, came into the piazza in 1280. Part of the sculptor's work may have been done later, however, judging from records of payments for work in 1281. The style of the sculpture is equally removed from Romanesque work and from Renaissance art. It has been recognised as belonging to the *Pisan school. Niccolo*

Photograph: Alinari

DETAIL FROM THE PULPIT IN THE DUOMO, SIENA

(By Niccolo Pisano)

Compare with the Sculpture on the Fountain at Perugia

Pisano (1206 ?-1280 ?), his son, *Giovanni Pisano* (1240 ?-1320), and *Arnolfo del Cambio* (1240-1315 ?), are the names generally associated with the sculpture. In time it stands midway between Niccolo's pulpit at Siena (1266) and Giovanni's at S. Andrea, Pistoia (1298-1301), and it resembles neither. There is a simplicity and reserve in the style and a directness in design which associate it neither with the classical tendencies of the father nor the Gothic tendencies of the son. If we conclude with some authorities that the design of the fountain was made by Niccolo and that the execution is that of the younger men, his pupils, Giovanni and Arnolfo, it may solve some of our difficulties. The work is untrammelled by any close adherence to classical models such as formed the study of Niccolo Pisano ; it is equally free from the uncontrolled energy and the artificial straining after effect that we find in some of the sculpture of his son Giovanni. It is full of that new life which was to bear good fruit in the fourteenth century, and it seems to anticipate the influence of Giotto (1276-1337), as we see it guiding the hand of Andrea Pisano (died after 1349) on the Campanile at Florence. Indeed, the sculpture of the fountain has more in common with the masterpieces of the Campanile than with the reliefs of the pulpits either at Siena or at Pistoia.

The statues round the upper basin have a certain unity of style bespeaking the influence of definite tradition, but at the same time there is a sufficient individual difference to suggest the work of several hands. The statues of Moses, David, Solomon, S. John the Baptist, and S. Benedict are wanting in distinction and refinement. On the other hand, the figures of Matteo da Corregio, Herman, " Divinitas Excelsa," S. Lorenzo the Deacon, and " Clericus Proditor Sancti Erculani," are rendered in a style at once broad, simple, and direct, and with a cogency that it would be difficult to exceed.

" Sancta Ecclesia," " Roma Caput Mundi," and the Saint in Contemplation, probably represent the work of the same or a closely allied hand, having its highest ex-

pression in the "Roma," and showing its weakness in the heads of SS. Peter and Paul.

Among the feminine personifications there is a tolerably distinct and uniform type to be noticed in the Victory, The Lady of the Corn Lands, The Lady of the Fish-bearing Lake, and the Girl bearing the head of Holofernes or S. John the Baptist. Grace and simplicity characterise all these figures, but it is the grace of mediæval and not of classical tradition.

The fountain consists of two lower cisterns and an upper basin. In this latter part of the structure there is a group of four women with arms intertwined, supporting a griffin, the ensign of the city, and a lion, the emblem of the Guelph party.

The metal work is attributed to Rosso, a native Perugian.

The sculpture of the whole monument is designed with the purpose of setting before us, by means of symbols, of personifications, of historical personages and scenes, of Bible stories and fables, a complete philosophy of life and society.

In the following general outline these ideas are given as shortly as possible.

The twenty-four statues on the upper cistern relate to the constitution of society, the bas-reliefs on the lower cistern deal with the development of the individuals of which that society is composed.

To make the notes on these sculptures more easy to follow, a list is prefixed, both of the reliefs and the statues, in the order which they now occupy.

Panels on the Lower Cistern of the Fountain

1. The Fall.
2. The Expulsion.
3. Samson kills the Lion.
4. Samson shorn of his locks.
5. Fable of the old Lion.
6. Fable of the Dog.

7. David preparing the sling.
8. Goliath lies dead.
9. Romulus.
10. Remus.
11. Romulus and Remus nourished by the Wolf.
12. Mother of Romulus and Remus.
13. Fable of the Wolf and the Crane.
14. Fable of the Wolf and the Lamb.
15. January. Man warming himself at the fire.
16. Woman with domestic utensils.
17. February. Man fishing.
18. Man carrying fish in a basket.
19. March. Man taking thorns out of his feet.
20. Man pruning vines.
21. April. Young man with a branch and a flower in his hand.
22. A young woman, with her hair dressed in coils, holding a basket of flowers.
23. May. A young rider with a bunch of flowers.
24. Lady on horseback with a hawk on her wrist.
25. June. Man cutting corn.
26. Man binding sheaves.
27. July. Man threshing with a flail.
28. Winnowing grain.
29. August. Man gathers figs.
30. Young girl with a basket of fruit.
31. September. Man treading grapes.
32. Man carries grapes to be crushed.
33. October. Man pouring wine into a barrel.
34. Man making a barrel.
35. November. Man ploughing with oxen.
36. Young man sowing corn.
37. December. Man cutting the carcase of a pig.
38. Man carrying an animal on his shoulder.

39. The Lion, the symbol of the Guelph party.
40. The Griffin, the symbol of Perugia.

41. Grammar.
42. Dialectic.
43. Rhetoric.

} The Mediæval Trivium.

44. Arithmetic.
45. Geometry.
46. Music.
47. Astronomy.

} The Mediæval Quadrivium.

48. Philosophy.

49. Eagle.
50. Eagle.

Statues on the Upper Cistern

1. Heulixtus, the mythical founder of Perugia.
2. David, King of Israel.
3. Moses with the rod and the table of the law.
4. Matteo da Corregio, Podestà of Perugia in 1278.
5. Melchisedek.
6. The Archangel Michael.
7. King Solomon.
8. Herman of Sassoferrato, Captain of the People in Perugia in 1278.
9. Victoria Magna. Victory.
10. S. Peter.
11. Ecclesia Romana. The Church.
12. Roma Caput Mundi — Rome the head of the world.
13. Divinitas excelsa—the Divine Idea represented in the Priesthood.
14. S. Paul.
15. Clericus beati Laurentii. A saint in contemplation of blessedness in heaven.
16. Sanctus Laurentius bonum opus operatus est—S. Lorenzo, the doer of good deeds.
17. Domina Clusii ferens granum Perusie—The lady of the corn lands of Chiusi bearing grain for Perugia.

18. Augusta Perusia est fertilis de omnibus his—Perugia rich in all things.

19. Domina laci ferens pisces Perusie—The lady of the lake bearing fish for Perugia.

20. S. Ercolano.

21. Clericus proditor sancti Erculani—The priest, betrayer of S. Ercolano.

22. Sanctus Benedictus habens spiritum profetie—S. Benedict, having the spirit of prophecy.

23. Puella ferens—Judith or Salome.

24. S. John the Baptist.

[We now attempt to give some explanation of the intention of the sculpture.

Man was created in the image and likeness of God. After the fall his supreme desire was to escape from the bondage of the finite and return to the infinite, to the source from which he was conscious of having sprung. The organisation of the life of society and of the individual must be directed to this end.

It was believed that, as the whole constitution of the individual, physical, moral, and mental, was the gift of the Infinite, and partook in some degree of the nature of the Giver, the way of right living must lie in the utmost possible development of all aptitudes, and society must be so constituted that the whole capacity of each of its individual members should be fully actualised. The supreme realisation of the individual consists in the perception of truth—not the truth as it is concerned with relations of the phenomena of the visible world, but the truth as it is perceived in the general principles lying beyond, which form the animating and eternal element in the transitory conditions of nature. It was therefore by this process of speculation, by the search after general principles, that man was to reach his goal. The condition of society in which speculative energy could be best developed was in the quiet and tranquillity of peace. Hence, as Dante says, "there sounded to the

shepherds from on high, not riches, not pleasures, not honours, nor length of life, nor health, nor strength, nor beauty—but peace."

Speculation as the supreme function of man is dependent on a nature duly harmonised in its parts ; there must be a sound body, a rightly directed will, and a fully trained intellect, all at peace with one another and working for a common end—peace in the individual is just as necessary as it is in society.

The purpose of the sculpture on the lower cistern of the Fountain is to show how the Individual may attain the truly balanced life necessary for the speculative habit ; and the upper cistern explains the Constitution of Society which most fully enables the individual to actualise his capacities. The summing up of the idea of the whole is found in the figure of Philosophy, by which man reaches out to the divine and the infinite.]

We begin with the panels on the lower cistern, on which are developed the life of the individual :

Panels 1 and 2. The Temptation and Fall strike the note of the whole series. Discord has entered into the world. Man is no longer in harmony with the will of God, nor is his own nature in harmony with itself. The will does not perceive clearly what is the true good, the body asserts itself against the will and the reason, while the reason suffers alike from an ill-governed body and a wrongly directed will. Vice and Ignorance take the place of Virtue and Knowledge.

The designer of the panels sets himself to show how the will, the body, and the reason are to recover their proper functions.

Panels 3-14 deal with the moral and religious nature ; they suggest how the will of man is to be brought into true harmony, so that it may desire the supreme good and impel the whole being towards it.

Panels 15-39 deal with the re-establishment of order and harmony, in the physical relations of man.

Panels 42-48 explain the conditions of intellectual

harmony, and how the reason is perfected by the search after truth.

Panel 49. Philosophy, is a synthesis of the whole conception.

Starting with the reliefs on the lower cistern at the north-western side of the Fountain, and opposite the shops under the Loggia :

1. **The Temptation and Fall.** Eve presents the apple to Adam, and immediately behind her is the tree with the serpent twined round the stem. The design is extremely simple ; the heads are disproportionately large, as often happens in the works of the Pisan school.

2. **The Expulsion** from Paradise. Adam and Eve have covered themselves with leaves. The hand of God in the left corner signifies the command that they shall leave the garden. The simple method by which the power of God is symbolised is striking.

3 and 4. **The Story of Samson.** 3. In his strength, tearing open the lion's mouth. His hair floats on his shoulders, the symbol of his moral vigour. The expression of physical power is effectively rendered.

4. **Samson** lies with his head in the lap of Delilah. She has cut off his hair, and he has lost his physical strength as well as his moral vigour. The lines of the composition indicate the point admirably.

5. **Fable of the Old Lion,** who, having lost his strength, is attacked by all those whom he has previously injured. The Lion lies under a tree and the inscription runs—" Si vis ut timeat leo." The moral attached is that those who have meted out injuries in the days of their strength, will themselves receive injury in the days of their weakness.

6. **Fable of the Old Dog,** with the inscription " Verbera Catulum."

7 and 8. **The Story of David and Goliath.** The power of the Spirit working in David, is contrasted with the weakness of Samson.

7. The youthful David prepares the sling. There is a

notable contrast between the simple shepherd and the mail-clad warrior, suggestive of the true source of power.

8. Goliath, the giant, clothed in armour is slain. This is a remarkable design; the effect of death is most competently gained, and the disposition of the figure is skilful.

The panels 9, 10, 11, 12 **relate to the foundation of the City of Rome.** The lesson we gather is that no man can stand alone, no man is self-sufficient. The individual can only be properly developed in a well-ordered social state, and Rome was the divinely appointed agent for temporal rule.

9 and 10 represent the twin mythical founders of Rome, each seated and holding vultures in their hands, in reference to the augury drawn from the flight of these birds which decided the site and name of the city.

11. The miraculous preservation of the twins nourished by a wolf. The tree at the back of the animal is the *Ficus ruminalis*, the sacred fig which caught the cradle of the future founders as it floated down the river. This is a most picturesque panel.

12. The mother of the twins holding an object which has been explained as a sieve, to indicate that she was a Vestal Virgin and as a sign of chastity.

13. **Fable of the Crane** who draws a bone from the throat of a wolf. When the reward, which has been offered, is claimed, the wolf reminds the crane that escape from his jaws is reward enough. The application is that the rich, who live by the labour of the poor, are like the wolf. They receive many benefits from the poor, and return evil for good.

14. **The wolf accuses the lamb** of fouling the stream as an excuse for seizing and devouring her. The moral drawn is that those who act with violence and cruelty add to their sin by calumniating those whom they have injured.

The use of parables, or "exempla," as they were called, was common in mediæval preaching, and especially so after the rise of the mendicant orders. In sermons addressed to the unlearned, fables and stories were used as illustrations

to fix the attention of the audience. Collections of these "exempla" were made for the use of preachers, and in many well-known cases a recognised moral was attached. The drift of the "exempla" on the Fountain is a warning against the vices of pride, oppression, and cruelty exercised by the strong against the weak, and the rich against the poor.

From the Old Testament examples we see how Samson is lost through moral weakness, how David conquers in the power of the Spirit, and how Goliath falls a victim to pride.

The panels 15 to 38 deal with **order in the material Creation.** They represent the labours and pleasures of man, as they correspond to the seasons of the year. Labour was alike a punishment and a blessing. On these panels it is the means of maintaining life, of supplying the wants of the body, and of affording scope for the pleasures of social existence. The subtle harmony between the forces of nature and the life of man is suggested in the parallel course of the **heavens,** of the **seasons,** and the **labours** necessary to bring to fruition the powers of the earth. Twenty-four panels are occupied with the labours and pleasures associated with the course of the sun through the heavens and the consequent change of season. Each month has two panels assigned to it with some appropriate illustration of human energy. In one of these panels there is or has been the sign of the Zodiac, to mark the relation between the sun, the season, and the labour.

After the fall, man became subject to the conditions of time and change—his life was a passage from the infirmities of childhood to those of old age. The earth likewise was cursed for his sake, and it was only by labour that nature could be made to yield her increase. The food which man won by the sweat of his brow tempered the infirmities of the body, daily bread and daily work became equally necessary.

The material conditions of fallen human nature were thus necessarily expressed in terms of the changes wrought by time, and of the labour by which the earth is made to

yield her fruits. The passing of time was evident on every hand, the new life of spring was followed by the growth of summer, the fruition of autumn, and the death of winter. The passage of the sun through the heavens summed up these ideas of change just as the life-giving power of his rays became the symbol for the idea of life. The sun in the heavens was the type of the Sun of Righteousness, and the course of the sun marked by the signs of the Zodiac became a figure of the life of Christ upon earth. As the passage of the Sun through the Natural Zodiac gave life to material things, so the passage of Christ through the Spiritual Zodiac gave moral and spiritual life to mankind.

The analogies between physical and spiritual conditions were widely developed. The rising up of the new life of spring from the death of the old life in winter was regarded as a type of the resurrection; the passage of the seasons illustrated the ages of man. The sowing of seed, the harvesting of the crop, and the threshing of grain were imagined as the planting of the Word of God in the heart, the coming to judgment, and the dividing of the good from the evil.

There was an analogy between labour and the sacraments of the Church, for as labour, in conjunction with the sun produced the food necessary for man's physical infirmities, so the sacraments, as the outward and visible signs of the life-giving power of the Sun of Righteousness, brought spiritual health and strength to the sinner. Labour does for the physical man what the sacraments do for the spiritual man. By labour the infirmities of the body are overcome, by the sacraments the infirmities of the soul are conquered.

The connection between the sun and the labour of man naturally led to the representation of work in connection with the course of the seasons. Labour was therefore expressed by the various occupations and interests throughout the months of the year, as they were regulated by the path of the sun through the heavens. Thus the labours of the months became an expression of divine beneficence by

which man can overcome the physical effects of the fall. They may be described as the sacrament of labour.

It is in relation to such ideas as these that we find ploughing, sowing, reaping, and gathering into barns, taking their place in the popular expression of mediæval religion, in so far as they express the relation between the divine will and the physical infirmities of man's fallen nature. We find, therefore, such subjects as the labours of the months sculptured at Lucca, at Pisa, on S. Marco in Venice, and on many of the French cathedrals and other churches throughout Western Europe.

The panels of April and May generally differ from the rest, inasmuch as they illustrate the pleasures of life rather than the labours. It is usual to find them figured by young men or maidens riding gaily, and holding flowers in their hands, or with a wreath of flowers, and sometimes one of the joyous figures has a hawk on the wrist. This is an expression of the sympathy between the fresh life of the season and the joys of youth, the earthly flowers they bear being the figure of the spiritual flowers forming the heavenly crown that rewards the life led in harmony with the order of creation.

December and January also stand apart from the series of labours. These months are nearly always illustrated by pleasures connected with eating and drinking, in fulfilment of such promises as that of Psalm cxxviii. 2, where it is said that those who fear the Lord shall eat the labour of their hands. The passage, Isaiah xxi. 5, "Prepare the table, watch in the watch tower, eat, drink," was allegorised as referring to those who receive spiritual strength from the sacraments of the Church. It is probable that an idea such as this lay dimly behind the habit that has connected some Christian anniversaries with festive pleasures.

The following is a descriptive list of the panels, 15 to 38, which we have been considering :—

15. Aquarius. The sign usually placed in the right-hand corner has disappeared. A man warmly clothed sits before a fire, with a drinking vessel and a plate of food.

16. Januarius. An old woman with a jug and some other vessel.

17. Pisces. The sign of the two fishes in the corner. A man fishing in the costume of a fisherman, as we see him to-day, on the Lake of Trasimeno.

18. Februarius. A man carrying a basket, perhaps selling fish.

19. Socius (so called, it is said, because this sign, Aries, accompanies the sun closely). A man takes the thorns from his feet—a figure significant of the season when one begins to walk barefoot.

20. Martius. A man prunes a vine which is trained upon a tree in the fashion still common in Italy.

21. Taurus. A young man holding a branch and flowers.

22. Aprilus. A young woman with a basket of flowers.

23. Gemini, and 24, Maius. These two panels form a pretty picture of a hawking party. A young man, crowned with flowers and holding a spray of roses, follows a lady on horseback, with a hawk on her wrist. The horse on which the lady rides shows that the artist had much less knowledge of animal form than is usual in this work.

25. Socius (Cancer—so called for the same reason as Aries). A man cuts corn.

26. Junius. A man binds sheaves.

27. Leo (the sign has almost disappeared). A man threshing with a flail. The sculptor shows complete control over the human figure in action. The effect of motion and effort is gained with simplicity and certainty.

28. Julius. A man winnows. The grain falls in a shower from his tool.

29. Socius (Virgo). A bareheaded man, lightly clothed, gathers figs in a basket.

30. Augustus. A young girl sits under a tree with a basket of fruit. This is a graceful and natural figure. The two panels 29 and 30 make a lovely picture of rural life.

31. Libra. A man treads grapes in a vat; he has a staff in one hand.

32. September. A man brings grapes to the press on his shoulders. He wears a hood and a loose tunic. The pose of a figure carrying weight has been accurately observed, and the sense of movement is competently rendered.

33. Scorpius. A man pours wine into a cask.

34. October. A man dressed in a long, loose tunic makes a cask. This is a noteworthy piece of naturalism.

35. Sagitarius. A man ploughing with two oxen. The difficulty of fitting the subject into the space has not been overcome. The treatment of the cattle is ineffective and trifling.

36. November. A man sowing ; he carries the seed in his apron. This is a fine piece of sculpture. The gracious air of the youth and the sense of effortless movement are alike attractive.

37. Capricornus. A man cutting up the carcase of a pig.

38. December. A man carries an animal, probably a pig, upon his shoulders. He is greeted by his dog.

The panels 39 and 40 have respectively a **Lion** and a **Griffin,** the one the symbol of the Guelph party, the other that of the city of Perugia.

The last division of the panels on the lower basin (41-48) is concerned with the **seven liberal arts and with philosophy.**

The first three figures (41, 42, 43) are those of Grammar, Dialectic, and Rhetoric, making up the Mediæval Trivium by which man is taught the art of reasoning.

Grammar opens the gate of knowledge ; her function is to preserve purity of language. By means of grammar change in the habit of speech is regulated and restrained, so that man does not lose touch with the experience of past times on account of the strangeness and diversity of tongue. Grammar also teaches the art of discussing rightly and with due regard to precision and aptness of expression.

Dialectic is the art of discussing truly ; it teaches the rules of right reasoning, and it formed the most important element of mediæval education.

Rhetoric, the third of the three ways, teaches the art of discussing fitly, so that men may be persuaded according to the will of the speaker.

To these succeed the four figures representing the Mediæval Quadrivium—Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy. They are the arts of the physicist, and they deal with the phenomena of the visible world. The universe was conceived of as being disposed according to number, weight, and measure, hence the importance of mathematics, which includes the four arts.

The preliminaries of mathematical science are taught in arithmetic. By geometry man is led to perceive the continuous existence and the immutable essence which underlie phenomena. Music, having for its principle unison and proportion, teaches of the divine harmony, the bond common to all creation. Astronomy, in its higher development, leads the soul up to first principles and nearer to the Creative Power. These seven arts or sciences give to the mind a training which fits it for the highest function of all, that of speculating on general principles, by which man learns to make himself eternal.

The seven sciences are the handmaids of Philosophy, and Philosophy is the "loving use of wisdom, and that loving wisdom is most in God, for in Him is Highest Wisdom, Highest Love, and Highest Power" ("Convito," ii., xii. 94-98).

Philosophy is therefore the last term of the actualisation of human capacity, and by it man approaches nearly to the Infinite.

We go on to consider the panels in detail.

The three first panels (41, 42, and 43) constitute the **Trivium** in the mediæval scheme of education.

41. Grammar. The teacher lays her hand upon the child's shoulder. This is a pleasant panel and effective in its simplicity.

42. Dialectic wears a doctor's hood and robes, and holds a scorpion. The divided tail of this animal signified the terms of the syllogism.

43. Rhetoric. The pupil stands in front with folded arms, as though reciting. The figure of the scholar is noteworthy.

The next four panels constitute the **Mediæval Quadrivium.**

44. Arithmetic. The scholar stands before the teacher counting. This is a charming relief.

45. Geometry, represented as a woman with a pair of compasses bending over a desk. This is one of the most graceful and effective figures in the whole series.

46. Music plays on a row of bells with a hammer.

47. Astronomy. The teacher directs the pupil's head so as to look up at the stars.

48. Philosophy. She is crowned as a queen and seated on a throne. Her grand air is worthy of the position that Philosophy takes in the scheme of the Fountain.

Surveying these sculptures as a whole we see that there are three main divisions dealing (1) with religion and morals, (2) with the material, and (3) with the intellectual needs of man. The religious and moral teaching is enforced in the subjects on the panels from the Temptation to the foundation of the social state of which Rome was the type. The relationship of man to the other forces of creation, is exemplified in the series of the labours of the months ; and the reasoning faculty by which ignorance is overcome is dealt with in the series of the Seven Liberal Arts and Philosophy.

Religion and Morals overcoming Vice by a rightly directed will, intellectual capacity enlightening the darkness of ignorance, and energy developing the forces of nature, all furnish the means of perfecting human nature. The evils that have overtaken the human race, and the sterility with which the earth has been cursed as the result of the fall, are healed by the sacrament of love, of learning, and of labour.

The panels 49 and 50 bring us back to the starting-point. The figures of the Eagle (the ensign of Pisa) were probably placed here by the sculptors in honour of their own town.

Turning to the twenty-four **statues round the upper cistern** we find that no importance can be attached to their relative position. The Fountain has been restored, and it is evident from the inscription round the base, which does not run properly, that the existing order is not the one originally intended.

The sculpture on the upper cistern deals with society as a whole, and as it has existed under the old and the new dispensations. Ancient Society was based on the Priest, the Lawgiver, and the King, typified here by Melchisedek, Moses, David, and Solomon. The link between the old and the new is found in S. John the Baptist. Through him we pass to society under the Christian dispensation resting on the Church and the Empire—as the divinely appointed agents of the will of God. To the Church has been committed the spiritual, and to the Empire the temporal destinies of society. These are represented by "Ecclesia Romana" and "Roma." The spiritual forces which control society through the Church are set forth under the figures of SS. Peter and Paul, "Clericus excelsa," and S. Benedict, while the special needs of Perugia are under the protection of SS. Lorenzo and Ercolano.

The temporal wants of society are under the general direction of Rome as representing imperial power, but the detail of government is committed to the city of Perugia—her origin and her rule being explained in the figure of Heulixtus, the Podesta, and the Captain of the People.

We begin with the sculpture illustrating Society under the old dispensation—the examples are over the relief of the "Temptation" and "Fall" on the lower cistern.

Nos. 2, 3, 5, and 7 represent the typical guides of Ancient Civilisation.

2. **David,** the King, playing a harp. This figure and some others near it are much spoilt by the falling water.

3. **Moses,** the lawgiver, with the tables of the law and the rod of authority. The type here is more commonplace than in the case of King David.

5. **Melchisedek,** the spiritual guide, the type of the priesthood. This figure is a restoration.

7. **Solomon** representing the wisdom of the temporal ruler. An undignified figure.

The bond between the Ancient Society and the Modern is found in Statue 24, that of S. John the Baptist—an unsatisfactory and weak piece of work.

We now turn to the constitution of **Modern Society** under the **New Dispensation.** The mediæval idea of the Church and the Empire was in theory a very wide one. The Emperor was not merely the temporal administrator, nor was the Pope merely the ecclesiastical ruler formally regulating dogma and discipline.

The Emperor was concerned with temporal felicity. This is to be gained by the realisation of human capacity, which becomes possible through the teachings of Philosophy. When man acts in accordance with these instructions, which he is enabled to do by the light of the moral and intellectual virtues, then he enjoys terrestrial happiness. It is for the Emperor so to guide the world that this end may be reached.

The Pope is concerned with the felicity of eternal life. This is to be gained by the teachings of the Holy Spirit, which in the light of the theological virtues—Faith, Hope, and Charity—makes clear to man the revelation set forth by the Prophets, the Sacred Writers, and the Son of God.

It is the duty of the Emperor and the Pope so to regulate the Empire and the Church that man may pass from the joys of the earthly paradise to those of the celestial paradise. Having exercised all the duties of the active life, and enjoyed a foretaste of the eternal in the life of speculation, man at last reaches his goal, the vision of the Infinite and community with God.

The following is a list of the sculptures which set forth these ideas. The series begin with the government of the town of Perugia:

1. **Heulixtus,** an Etruscan king, who was supposed to

have founded the city. The sculpture is meagre and wanting in dignity.

Nos. 4 and 8 represent what we may call the judicial and executive heads of the City State.

4. **Matteo da Corregio,** Podesta of Perugia at the time the Fountain was being built (1278). The figure in a citizen's robe and cap, gains some distinction from its simplicity.

8. **Herman of Sassoferrato**, Captain of the People in 1278. He is dressed as a citizen; he wears a plain cap, and carries a short sword and gloves. This is the figure of a strong, capable man, suggestive of the citizen soldier rather than the knight errant. Its simple breadth of style gives dignity and character to the work.

9. **Victoria Magna.** This figure is imperfect; the symbols have been damaged. She recalls the success in arms of the citizens of Perugia.

10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 relate to the two great powers—the Church and the Empire, both having their seat in Rome. **The Church** (11) is represented by a young woman bearing a church—"Ecclesia Romana." **The Empire** (12) is figured as a crowned queen seated on a throne, peaceful and victorious, holding a palm-branch—"Roma caput mundi." The figure of the Church is one of the most beautiful on the Fountain. That of "Roma," though grievously damaged, is a marvel of strength and dignity. The Church is further represented by (10) S. Peter, (14) S. Paul, and (13) "Divinitas Excelsa." There is a certain dignity in the figures of the two Apostles, but the sculpture of their heads is entirely unworthy. "Divinitas Excelsa" is one of the finest in the whole series; it would be hard to overrate its charming simplicity.

S. Lorenzo, the patron saint of Perugia, in whose name the Duomo is dedicated, appears in a twofold relation in 15 and 16.

15. S. Lorenzo is the heavenly citizen. This figure is so unfortunately damaged that the entire effect is lost.

16. S. Lorenzo, with the inscription, "Sanctus Lauren-

tius bonum opus operatus est." He wears the deacon's dress; he is the worker of good works in the Church militant. This sculpture is a model of strength, simplicity, and directness.

The three next figures are personifications of the city state and its dependencies.

17. **Domina Clusii ferens granum Perusie**—The lady of the corn lands between Chiana and the Lake of Trasimeno. This is a gracefully draped figure. The face is of the same type as "Victoria Magna" and other of the female personifications.

18. **Augusta Perusia,** fertile in all things. A beautiful matron holding a horn of plenty filled with fruits.

19. **Domina laci ferens pisces Perusie**—The lady of Lake Trasimeno yielding fish for food. This figure is not so charming as the lady of the corn lands.

20. **S. Ercolano,** the Bishop and defender of the city against King Totila. He is shown here as a well-proportioned and dignified figure, with a vigorous personality.

21. The unfortunate **Cleric** through whom the town was delivered into the hands of Totila. This figure has the same character of severe simplicity as those of "Divina Excelsa" and S. Lorenzo the Deacon.

22. **S. Benedict** gives the rule of the order to his disciple S. Maurus. The figure of an angel at the ear of the monk signifies the divine inspiration granted to S. Benedict. The drapery of the group is remarkably fine; the kneeling disciple is also a striking study; but S. Benedict himself is unrefined, and wanting in elevation of character.

23. A girl holding the head of a man, with the inscription, "Puella ferens." This girl has been supposed to be **Salome**, with the head of S. John the Baptist; or **Judith,** as the saviour of her people from the rule of discord, with the head of Holofernes. The figure is finely draped. The head she bears is of the same unworthy type as those of SS. Peter and Paul.

The statue, No. 6, that of the **Archangel Michael,** has not been mentioned. It is the work of a modern sculptor.

Most of the ideas which underlie the design of the Fountain are to be found in Dante's "De Monarchia" and "Il Convito"—written some twenty or thirty years after it was made. Any dependence of one upon the other is entirely out of the question; the recurrence simply shows that both the designer of the Fountain and Dante assumed the current speculation of the time.

The Duomo

Duomo of S. Lorenzo.—The Duomo, as we see it, was founded in 1345, but little or no progress was made for many years. It was not until the middle of the fifteenth century that the work was set about in earnest. In 1437 the foundation of the façade was laid, Bishop Baglioni assisting at the ceremonial. Even to this day, however, the building remains unfinished. The main entrance is at the east end of the church, and the choir to the west. Probably the buildings of the Canonica, and the rapid fall of the ground, prevented the main entrance being designed in its usual position. The church occupies a fine site overlooking the piazza; but the building is uninteresting and no advantage has been taken of the situation. To the L. of the door is a bronze statue of Pope Julius III., by *Vincenzo Danti*, 1555. On the R. is the pulpit from which S. Bernardino preached.

The principal entrance is from the Piazza Danti.

The nave and aisles are all of one height. They are separated by comparatively light octagonal columns, and the effect is to give an air of true Umbrian spaciousness. The roof is groined and the windows are pointed, but there is no architectural interest that need detain the visitor.

On entering the main door the **tomb of Bishop Baglioni** (mentioned above) is seen to the R. There are sculptured upon it the four Cardinal Virtues. Fortitude with a pillar. Temperance pouring water into wine. Justice with a sword. Prudence with a book. The work is attributed to *Urbano da Cortona*, 1451.

To the L. is a tomb of the Oddi family in the style of the seventeenth century. Compare this with the Baglioni tomb.

The first bay to the R. is occupied by the **Chapel of S. Bernardino,** divided from the church by a beautiful iron screen. The chapel is fitted with elaborately carved stalls, the altar-piece is a Descent from the Cross by *Baroccio,* 1568. The stained glass window of 1565 represents S. Bernardino preaching to the Perugians.

In the second bay is a picture presented by the guild of stone-workers and wood-carvers. The many fine examples of carving and intarsiatura in the Perugian churches testify to the importance and the ability of the latter.

Out of a third bay opens a small chapel containing the baptismal **font,** which is modern. The cover has the symbols of the Evangelists and a cross in the central panel. It is set in a richly carved niche, the work of a Lombard sculptor, *Pietro Paolo di Maestro Andrea,* 1477.

On the pillar dividing the aisle from the nave is the picture known as "Madonna della Grazie." It has the reputation of working miracles, and has been ascribed to *Giannicola Manni.*

In the fifth bay is an altar-piece, Madonna and Child, by *Cocchi.*

Right Transept. A seated statue of Pope Leo XIII. Over the door, a Pietà, by *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.* To the R. of the altar the Death of the Virgin, by a scholar of *Gentile da Fabriano.* From this chapel we enter the Winter Choir. The altar-piece is by *Luca Signorelli* (1442-1523). Madonna and Child are seated on a raised throne with a garland hung over the back. To the L. stand S. John the Baptist and S. Onofrio; to the R. are S. Stefano and S. Ercolano. At the foot of the throne a most ungainly angel plays on a stringed instrument. The colour of the picture as we see it to-day is dull and heavy, nor is there any quality of design or treatment to compensate. Madonna is unrefined in type, S. John the Baptist is a sentimental poseur, while S. Stefano looks towards the

Child with a supercilious air. S. Onofrio was one of those who led a solitary life in the desert, and for sixty years existed without human intercourse. He is a representative of the extreme rigour of the ascetic life; but such a travesty of humanity as is here represented is unworthy of the artist. There is a certain kind of heavy and conventional dignity in the ordering of the picture, and it is usual to praise the glass with flowers which stands in the foreground; but it is difficult to realise that the painter of the frescoes at Orvieto should have also painted this picture. The date assigned to it is 1484.

The fine stalls in the Choir, with carving and intarsia, are by *Giuliano da Majano* and *Domenico del Tasso*.

In the **Left Transept**. Madonna and Child with SS. Mary Magdalen, Rocco, and another.

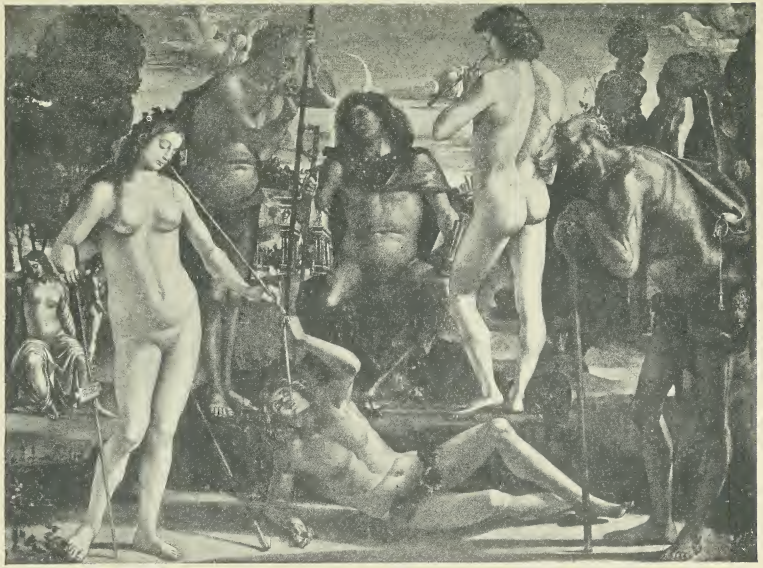
On the R., a small porphyry urn with the remains of Popes Urban IV., died 1264, and of Martin IV., died 1285. The remains of Pope Innocent, who also died in Perugia (1216), were transferred to Rome by Pope Leo XIII.

Jacques de Vitry tells how, when he came to Perugia to be consecrated Bishop of Acre, he found that Pope Innocent III. had just died. The body was exposed in the Church of S. Lorenzo (not, of course, the present building), abandoned by citizens and cardinals, who were busy with the election of a new Pope. The body was nearly naked, having been stripped of its rich garments the night before. "I entered the church and saw with my own eyes how brief and vain is the uncertain glory of this world."

Martin IV. was honoured by a public funeral, for which the people were taxed, as the canons were not willing to undertake the expense. Many lame and blind people were brought to the funeral, and through the merits of the Pope were healed and freed from their diseases.

In the **left nave,** first bay, is a relief by *Agostino di Duccio*. In the upper part is the Father Eternal and two angels; below, Christ rises from the tomb between Mary and S. John.

To the L. is a Sienese picture of SS. John the Baptist and



Photograph : Hanfstaengl

"PAN"

(By Signorelli. From Berlin)

Compare with the Altarpiece by Signorelli in the Duomo at Perugia

John the Evangelist. To the R., Madonna and Child with SS. Peter, Paul, John the Baptist, and a bishop. At the end of the nave opposite the Chapel of S. Bernardino is the **Chapel of the Ring**—so called from the ring with which Joseph espoused the Virgin. In 985 a Roman Jew who was selling jewels to a certain Ranieri, a goldsmith of Chiusi, presented him with an onyx, saying, "If thou knewest the dignity of this gem thou wouldst esteem it more than all the rest, for it is the ring with which Joseph espoused Mary." Ranieri took it home, and its existence was forgotten until, on the death of his only son, he was reminded of it, for when they were carrying the body to burial the youth rose up and reminded his father of the ring, as by its virtue he had been brought to life again. The ring was taken to the Church of S. Mustiola, and there it worked miracles. But the monks into whose hands it was committed grew careless, and one of them, in 1473—a German, Winter by name—stole it, intending to take it to his own country. As he left Chiusi a dense fog was sent upon him so that he could see nothing; he lost his way and found himself back at his starting-place. Having a friend in Perugia, he went there, and was taken to Braccio Baglioni, who sent him to the Priors. It was unanimously agreed that the ring was a gift from heaven, and that it should never be allowed to leave Perugia. Siena and the Pope both tried to recover the treasure for Chiusi, but in spite of the weakness of their title the Perugians kept possession of it. The picture of the Sposalizio now at Caen, once attributed to Perugino, but now believed to be by Lo Spagna, was painted for this chapel. The intarsia work of the seats is fine. On the pillar forming the corner of the chapel is a fragment—a portrait of S. Bernardino.

In the L. nave there is a banner by *Bonfigli*, forming the altar-piece. Christ has darts in his hand prepared against the town of Perugia, Madonna kneels imploring mercy. Below is the town and a crowd of kneeling citizens.

THE CANONICA

To the west of the Duomo a mass of buildings include the Seminary and the Canonica. Within, there is a cloister and an **open stairway and loggia,** forming one of the most picturesque architectural monuments in Perugia.

In the **cloister** a number of fragments of sculpture, architectural details, and tablets have been preserved.

1. A figure of S. Lorenzo with his gridiron, of rude workmanship. 91. Creation of Eve. 94. Creation of Eve and the Fall. 134. Madonna and Child.

A tablet records the election at Perugia of the following Popes :—

Honorius III.	in succession to	Innocent III.	in 1216.
Clement IV.	,,	Urban IV.	,, 1264.
Honorius IV.	,,	Martin IV.	,, 1285.
Clement V.	,,	Benedict XI.	,, 1305.

The last of these elections marks an epoch in the history of the Papacy, and it had an indirect effect on the extension of popular government in Perugia, and in many other parts of Italy.

The death of the Emperor Frederick II. in 1250, and the conquest of Naples by Charles of Anjou in 1266, had destroyed the influence of the Empire. But though the Papacy had crushed the Empire, there was still the King of France to reckon with, and in this relation two strong and commanding natures met and crossed each other's paths during the last decade of the thirteenth century. Boniface VIII. was Pope and Philip the Fair was King of France.

The struggle between them ended in the downfall and death of Boniface in October 1303. The cardinals at once elected Benedict XI. as his successor, but the position of the new Pope was so insecure that he left Rome after Easter 1304, and came by way of Orvieto to Perugia. Feeling himself safe in Perugia, and dreading a general council which the enemies of Boniface VIII. demanded, he ven-

tured to promulgate a Bull against those who had been concerned against the late Pope. It was affixed to the doors of the Duomo in Perugia, and called upon those named to appear before him.

On the 7th July 1304 Benedict died, and when the cardinals met, the two parties, those friendly to Boniface and those who favoured the King of France, were irreconcilable. The palace in which the conclave was held is described as being the residence of the Pope; it was contiguous to the palace of the bishop and to the rooms belonging to the Cathedral. The building was burnt in 1534, but from the description of its situation it probably occupied the site of the present Canonica and Seminary. Nineteen cardinals met in Perugia on the 10th July 1304, and it was not till the 5th June 1305 that the next Pope was proclaimed. A compromise was agreed upon—the friends of Boniface were to name three northern prelates, and the friends of the King of France were to make the choice; and so ended the last conclave held in Perugia. The result of this election was the settlement of the Papacy at Avignon for the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity. The fact that for the greater part of the fourteenth century there was neither Pope nor Emperor in Italy has a most important bearing on the history of popular government throughout the Peninsula.

The Maiestà delle Volte.—(For permission to visit the chapel apply to the Custode of the Seminario.) The Chapel of the Maiestà delle Volte is in the street which passes down from the Piazza S. Lorenzo under some high arches; it belongs to the building of which the Canonica and the Seminary form parts. The three-quarter-length figure of the Madonna is painted on a great scale. The Child stands on her knee and she caresses him tenderly. The drapery is richly decorated. Note the long hands and thin fingers.

Church of S. Martino.—In the Via del Verzaro, near the Piazza Felice Cavallotti, is the Church of S. Martino. Over the high altar is a picture by *Giannicola Manni*, represent-

ing Madonna and Child attended by S. John the Baptist and S. Lorenzo. The picture is graceful and pleasant, with the detached air not uncommon in Umbrian pictures. The feminine figure of the Baptist is carefully balanced with that of S. Lorenzo, who has his gridiron and a palm branch to signify victory. The central group of the Mother and Child is insignificant. On the western wall to the L. of the door as we enter is an illustration from the life of S. Martin. The young soldier wearing a helmet and coat of mail, and already encircled with the saintly nimbus, sits on a prancing horse attended by several armed men. His expression is that of an easy optimism, and he gracefully cuts his robe to give it to the beggar. Above him, Christ appears in glory attended by four angels ; but as this part of the picture is much damaged, it is difficult to say whether He wears the robe of charity which S. Martin had given to the beggar.

CHURCHES IN THE NORTH-WESTERN DISTRICT

S. Agostino.—This church, in the north-west district of the town, was originally of pointed design, but it has since received a Renaissance lining. Some remains of pointed chapels are shown in which there are traces of fourteenth-century frescoes.

In another side chapel there is a fifteenth-century fresco representing Madonna with SS. Joseph and Jerome. It is of the usual Umbrian type, and probably is the work of one of Perugino's scholars.

The most interesting feature in the church is the **choir stalls,** fine examples of intarsiatura work, which were designed by Perugino and executed by *Baccio d'Agnolo* (1462-1543). The centre panels have a representation of the Annunciation.

The Sacristy, which is beautifully panelled, has an armoria of the sixteenth century, containing a number of

relics. A calendar with a relic of the appropriate saint, for each day in the year, should be noticed.

The larger part of the pictures in Sala X. of the Pinacoteca, in the Palazzo Pubblico, came from this church; and many of them formed part of the great altar-piece, painted by Perugino, the largest pieces being No. 20, the Nativity, and No. 11, the Baptism.

The picture was contracted for in 1502, but was not finished for many years. (See Dr Williamson's "Perugino," p. 88.)

The **Chapel of the Confraternity of S. Agostino** is entered to the R. of the little piazza in front of the church. In it there are a number of sixteenth-century pictures. The roof is elaborately carved and gilt.

Church of S. Angelo.—The round Church of S. Angelo stands on high ground near the walls and close to the gate of S. Angelo at the north-western end of the city. Its circular form has attracted some attention, and it is said to stand on the site of a pagan temple.

The building rests upon sixteen columns of various sizes and styles; and there is also, near the high altar, a cippus with a Roman inscription, and behind the high altar a slab of stone, said to be a pagan sacrificial table, probably once used as the altar.

The sacristan shows a stone which was used to increase the sufferings of martyrs; when they were hung by their hands or by the hair, this stone was tied to their feet.

The church is remarkable for the number of relics it contains. The bodies of two children, S. Severino and Sta. Firmina, and the body of Sta. Justina are preserved, besides the skulls of many other saints.

There are some remains of Umbrian fresco in the church; and in the chapel to the R., the Madonna del Verde is said to be the earliest fresco of the Umbrian school in Perugia. The Gothic doorway outside of the church, probably added in the fourteenth century, has twisted pillars and capitals with foliage.

There is a fine view from the green sward in front of the church.

In returning from the Church of S. Angelo, cross the main road, and take the Via Agnese opposite, which leads to the **Convent of S. Agnese,** inhabited by women of the third order of S. Francis. In the Capella Concezione *Perugino* has painted Madonna with kneeling figures said to represent the sisters of the artist—to the L., S. Anthony the Abbot; to the R., S. Anthony of Padua.

In a chapel attached to the church of the Convent, a scholar of Pinturicchio has painted the background to a sculptured figure of Christ on the cross; the figures are those of Madonna, SS. John, Sebastian, and Rocco.

S. Francesco al Monte and the Aqueducts.—A pleasant drive may be taken by leaving the city through the **gate of S. Angelo,** the spot where, according to tradition, S. Dominic and S. Francis met while on their way to the court of Honorius III., then in Perugia, to receive from him the confirmation of their rules. After passing through the gate we see immediately in front the wooded hill crowned by the Church and Monastery of **S. Francesco al Monte,** the favourite retreat of Frate Egidio, one of the early disciples of S. Francis, and the scene of the visit paid by the French monarch to the simple brother. In the *Fioretti* it is told that S. Louis of France, having heard of the great sanctity of Frate Egidio and desiring to see him, came to his house as a poor pilgrim, and asked to see the brother. Straightway Frate Egidio left his cell, and without further questions they kneeled down and embraced each other, as though they had been close familiar friends, and all without speaking. Then having continued in silence for some time, understanding each other far better than if they had spoken, they parted; S. Louis went on his journey and Frate Egidio returned to his cell.

Continuing down hill, through olive groves, we pass through the village of S. Marco, and a mile or two farther on, we see the remains of the Aqueduct, built for the pur-

pose of bringing water from Monte Pacciano into the town, during the latter part of the thirteenth century. There was much activity in Perugia in the direction of town improvements at this time, and amongst other enterprises there was this scheme to supply the citizens with fresh water. A commission was given in 1254 to a Messer Bonomo of Orte to bring water from Monte Pacciano, but his attempt was a failure; and it was not until 1276 that efforts were renewed under the direction of two Benedictine monks, Frati Bevegnate and Alberto, and a Venetian architect, Boninsegna.

The work was crowned with success, and on 12th February 1280 water came into the piazza, and the names of the architects are recorded with much adulation upon the Fountain.

CHURCHES IN THE NORTH-EASTERN DISTRICT

The Church of S. Severo.—In the eleventh century a certain Romualdo established a community of Benedictines at Camaldoli in the Casentino.

The rule of the monks was strict. They had no life in common, and even the labour prescribed by the rule was done in solitude. Their aim was to reform the practice of the Benedictine order.

A community of these monks settled in Perugia, and built a church and monastery, dedicated in the name of **S. Severo,** probably in memory of the Archbishop of Ravenna, Romualdo having been a native of that town, and a monk at S. Apollinare-in-classe. In this monastery Raphael, when a youth, painted part of a fresco, which was finished many years afterwards by Perugino, towards the end of his life. The design fills a lunette, in the lower part of which is a niche with Madonna and Child. Raphael's part of the picture has for its centre Christ showing the wounds of the Passion. An angel floats in the air at each side in adoration, and over the head of Christ is the dove of the Holy

Spirit. At the top of the lunette there was originally the Father Eternal, but nothing is now left except the A and Ω on the leaves of a book.

The intention of the design is to set forth a manifestation of the Trinity, which is without beginning and without end. In the lower part of Raphael's design are seated S. Benedict and S. Romualdo, each accompanied by two of their disciples. All are clothed in white, for according to the legend it was given to S. Romualdo to see a ladder reaching up into heaven : on it were his brethren in white robes, and so he changed the black habit of the Benedictine rule into the white one we see here.

With S. Benedict, the patriarch of the whole order reformed and unreformed, sit his disciples, SS. Maurus and Placidus. With S. Romualdo are SS. Benedict and John, Camaldolese monks, who suffered martyrdom in Poland. S. Placidus and S. Benedict the Martyr have robes of rich colour over their white gowns.

The picture was finished by Perugino, who many years after painted the row of saints that stand below the design of Raphael. To the L. are Sta. Scholastica and SS. Jerome and John the Evangelist; to the R., S. Martha and SS. Boniface and Gregory the Great. S. Martha is perhaps placed here in relation to Sta. Scholastica as the one who, according to tradition, was the first to gather together a convent of sisters, while Sta. Scholastica as the first Benedictine nun may be regarded as the foundress of conventual life for women.

There is nothing in Raphael's part of the work to indicate his future fame ; it may, however, be noticed that his faces are not of the broad-browed and flat type common with Perugino and many of his scholars.

The six large standing figures which **Perugino** painted below are heavy and dull. They pose in purposeless attitudes, and, with their expressionless faces, they represent the master perhaps at his worst.

In the Via Pinturicchio, close to the Porta Pesa, is the Church of **S. Maria Nuova,** begun in 1376, partly rebuilt in

Photograph: Anderson

DETAIL FROM THE "DISPUTA"

(In the Stanze of Raphael. Vatican, Rome)

Compare with the fresco in S. Severo, Perugia

1450. Over the second altar on the R. is a banner by *Bonfigli*. Christ in the centre is prepared to strike the people with the arrows of pestilence which He bears in His right hand. His face is that of a minister of fate, who has neither control over the judgments nor concern with their fulfilment. Its impersonal aloofness could have brought small consolation to those who suffered. At each side of this great figure saints bear the instruments of the Passion, and above are the sun and moon. At the feet of Christ kneel the Madonna and the Franciscan S. Paolina. The lower part of the picture is divided from the upper by an arch; under it crouch the people of Perugia, and over them hovers Death. At the sides of the groups of citizens kneel S. Benedict and Sta. Scholastica praying for their deliverance.

Over the fourth altar is a copy of a picture by Perugino, now in the National Gallery, London.

The choir stalls are by *Paolino d'Ascoli*, 1456; they are richly carved and ornamented with intarsia.

The most direct way to reach the Churches of S. Fiorenzo and the Carmine as well as the Porta Pesa, is to leave the Piazza Sopramura (or Giuseppe Garibaldi) by the Via Alessi. The first turning to the R. leads to the Church of **S. Fiorenzo.** Over the altar in the R. transept there is one of the "Banner" pictures common in Perugia. It was painted in 1476 by *Bonfigli*. Madonna is a coarse version of the painter's usual type. Four angels support a basket of flowers on which the Child stands. The four attendant saints are, to the R., S. Sebastian and another; to the L., SS. Filippo Benizzi and Fiorenzo: they surround a group of kneeling citizens. Behind the high altar, Madonna and Child of the *school of Giotto*. The Madonna dei Ansidei, now in the National Gallery, hung in this church.

Return to the Via Alessi and follow the line of street to the Piazza del Duca and take the steps leading down to the Church of the **Carmine.** In the choir behind the high

altar is a banner picture, a Gonfalone della Madonna, by *Bonfigli*. Madonna is robed in white and gold ; it is a charming creation, in some respects finer than Bonfigli's Madonna in the Gallery ; the type is stronger, the decorative painting more restrained and effective. At the lower right-hand corner there is a kneeling group of Pope, Emperor, Cardinal, and people. Over the third altar in the nave there is a highly venerated painting without much artistic distinction.

Pass out of the Porta del Carmine and follow the Via Fonte Nuovo, in about fifteen minutes the Church of **S. Bevignate** is reached. The interior is formed of a nave without aisles, divided into two bays with groined vaulting. The choir is of small size ; it is also roofed with groined vaulting. An altar in the Renaissance style has been built into the eastern wall of the choir and the frescoes have thus been destroyed. On the wall of the choir, to the R., the fresco of the Last Judgment may be of the thirteenth century ; on the wall opposite there is a fresco of the Last Supper. On the nave wall, to the R. of the choir, there is a Giotteschi Crucifixion of the fourteenth century. On the L. wall of the nave there is a fresco dating perhaps from the end of the thirteenth century, two Franciscans with SS. Mary Magdalene and James. On the side walls of the nave there are figures of the Apostles.

Externally there is a quality of rude vigour in the building ; strong buttresses, square on ground plan, are carried to the level of the roof ; the east end is square and at one time a two-light pointed window has been opened in it.

CHURCHES IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN DISTRICT

S. Domenico.—The Church of S. Domenico lies at the south-eastern side of the town, on the way to S. Pietro dei Cassinesi. The Campanile is one of the landmarks of Perugia, a short tower, pierced with large openings. Its

bald and neglected appearance is in keeping with the blank walls of rough brickwork and the gaunt, half-ruinous look of the whole building. It is, indeed, no unfitting symbol of the renunciation of the world preached by the founder of the order to which it belongs, for it seems to owe nothing to the care of man.

The original pointed design has received a Renaissance lining, better fitted to express worldly magnificence than the ascetic life of the mendicant preachers.

The only remains of the original pointed church are some details of a chapel at the foot of the belfry, reached by a door opening out of the northern transept, where there are fragments of frescoes relating to the life of Sta. Caterina. The great eastern window is also a remnant of the Gothic church. In the fourth chapel in the R. aisle is a work by *Agostino di Duccio* (the sculptor of S. Bernardino). It consists of frescoes framed in graceful terra-cotta designs. The subject is the Glory of the Virgin, who sits in the semicircle at the top, with the Child upon her knee, attended by angels. Beneath are the two busts of David and Isaiah, the human ancestor, and the prophet of the life which was to work the salvation of mankind. At the sides of the monument are the Angel Gabriel and Madonna in Annunciation. Below them stand S. John the Baptist as forerunner, and S. Lorenzo as confessor-martyr and patron of Perugia. Around the niche, which is now empty, are small pictures illustrating acts of mercy and miracles wrought by the intervention of Madonna.

The large **eastern window** is filled with modern glass. The circle at the top of the window contains the figure of Christ with cherubim and seraphim. Below, in the pointed arches, are prophets and evangelists. In the upper range of large figures the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin are in the centre, SS. Peter and Paul at the extreme R. and L. In the centre of the next course are the two Perugian bishops, SS. Ercolano and Costanzo, with S. Dominic and the martyrs SS. Stefano, Peter (Martyr), and S. Lorenzo. The next range of figures have the four Doctors of the

Church, Pope Benedict XI., and a Dominican; the lowest range of figures consists of six female confessors and martyrs.

The L. transept contains the most important monument in the church, viz., the **Tomb of Benedict XI.,*** originally attributed to Giovanni Pisano but not now believed to be a work of this master. The Pope died in Perugia in 1304, and the work was executed shortly afterwards. The design suffers from the lightness of the supporting columns and the skeleton-like outline of the cusped arch and of the arcading which forms the upper part of the monument. Under it the Child sits on Madonna's knee and receives the homage of the Pope. The sculpture itself falls below the style of the lower part of the monument, and the architectural forms interfere with the proper effect of this group. Neither are the busts of SS. Peter and Paul, a monk, and an Apostle, on the face of the canopy, at all equal to the main design. But when this is said, nothing except praise remains for what is one of the finest monuments and one of the most perfect examples of sepulchral sculpture in Italy. At the head and foot of the dead man are angels withdrawing the curtains so that we may see the recumbent figure. It must be admitted that the subject of the curtain-drawing angels, which became a Tuscan tradition, is rather petty in conception, but in this instance the extreme beauty and grace of the angels so occupies the mind that the motive is scarcely noticed. The figure of the Pope is a most harmonious design; the face suggests neither death nor life, but only eternal peace. The graceful lines of the drapery, and the solemn simplicity of the form, erring neither in gaunt asceticism nor in dramatic suggestion, make up a composition such as is hardly equalled elsewhere. The subtle art of the sculptor has left behind all trace of Romanesque rudeness, and it has not yet suffered from the mannered weakness and the feeble melodrama of later times.

Over the third altar, in the L. nave, is a banner. Christ holding arrows of pestilence is seated between Madonna

and John the Baptist. Below are two angels, one shooting arrows, and the other sheathing his sword. At the foot are the people of Perugia, with SS. Dominic and Catherine.

Continue along the Corso Cavour, passing through the fifteenth-century gateway, Porta S. Pietro; by the Via Borgo Venti Giugno we reach **S. Pietro dei Cassinesi,** a Benedictine foundation, dating from the later part of the tenth century.

The **Campanile** is picturesque, and from the direction of Assisi it is seen from a long distance, forming with the mass of monastic building a most striking feature in the landscape.

The founder of the monastery, S. Pietro Vincioli, was a man of force and character, and amongst other things he impressed his own generation by his power of working miracles. One of these is connected with the building of the church. It is recorded in a picture in the fifth bay of the R. aisle, where a granite column (now the second to the L. of the nave) is seen suspended in the air by the will of the abbot, the rope having broken.

Cross the courtyard, and enter the church by a door on the L. The doorway is framed with carving of the sixteenth century.

The Interior is basilican in character. The nave is divided from the aisles by antique columns removed from the Church of S. Angelo, originally built on the site of a pagan temple.

The eastern part of the church is separated from the nave by a triumphal arch, on which is painted the Annunciation; the form of this part of the church is pointed. There are no transepts, and the shallow recesses formed by the piers of the triumphal arch are used as organ lofts. The flat wooden roof is coffered, and richly coloured and gilt. No part of the wall surface is left without decoration of some kind, and although for the most part the paintings are uninteresting and poor, the general effect of the broad and simple nave, the brilliant colouring, and the dark masses of the choir stalls, is distinctly striking.

Turning to the pictures in the church, there is immediately to the R. of the central door an indifferent picture, by Orazio Alfani (1510-1583), giving facts from the life of S. Peter. It contains a traditional portrait of Perugino.

Right Aisle—*First bay*. A pleasing painting by an unknown hand, representing Madonna and Child with S. Mary Magdalene and S. Sebastian.

Third bay. A very poor and mannered Assumption of the Virgin, by Orazio Alfani. It serves to remind us of the depth to which art fell in the sixteenth century.

Fourth bay. A picture commemorating a miracle worked by the founder, S. Pietro Vincioli. While one of the granite columns was being placed in position the rope broke, but by the power of the saint the column remained suspended in the air until guided to its place.

Seventh bay. A picture representing the choice offered to King David between war, pestilence, and famine.

Eighth bay. A picture attributed to *Masolino* (1383?-1440?), in which S. Benedict, attended by SS. Maurus and Placidus, gives the rule to a group of kneeling monks.

Ninth bay. A picture showing how at the intercession of Pope Gregory the Great the plague was stayed in Rome. The Archangel Michael appears in the sky sheathing his sword; below is the castle of S. Angelo, by *Salimbeni*.

Tenth bay. To the R. opens the small chapel dedicated to S. Joseph; above the door, on the inside, is a fresco by a scholar of Perugino. Also copies of pictures by Raphael.

Over the entrance to the monastery is a Marriage of S. Catherine, by Bonifazio. Opposite to the entrance to the monastery, on the pier of the triumphal arch, is a Descent from the Cross, attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo (1485-1547).

In the **Sacristy,** which opens out of the R. aisle, there are five fragments by *Perugino*, parts of an altar-piece, the principal part of the picture having been taken from Perugia by the French. They represent three Benedictines, viz., Sta. Scholastica, the sister of S. Benedict; S. Maurus, one of his principal disciples; and S. Pietro Vincioli, the

founder of the monastery. The other two panels represent two of the patrons of Perugia—SS. Ercolano and Costanzo.

Near the window—The Crowning with Thorns, by *Bassano*. On the wall opposite the window—Two Children, by *Raphael*; Madonna and Child, by *Parmigiano*; The Head of Christ, by *Dosso Dossi*.

There are in the Sacristy and in an adjoining room some finely **illuminated choral books.** They are the work of Piero di Giacomo da Pozzuolo (1471-1472), Bocchardini di Firenze (1517-1518), and Maestro Mose di Napoli (1525-1526).

The **Choir.** At the entrance to the choir there are to the R. and L. ambones decorated in the Renaissance style. They may be regarded as elaborate examples of the taste of the end of the fourteenth century.

The choir stalls are the work of Stefano of Bergamo (1535); the carving and the intarsiatura are said to be from designs by Raphael. On the arms of the stalls to the L. there may be found the four symbols of the Evangelists, and the punishment of the damned—tormented by serpents. On the R. are various symbolical animals, such as griffins, dolphins, dragons, winged horses, and sphinxes. On the carved panels at the back of the upper row of stalls there are designs of the Nativity, of S. Jerome in the Desert, and of the Ascension of Christ. The finest pieces of intarsiatura are on either side of the door opening on to the balcony at the back of the choir; they represent to the R. the Finding of Moses by the daughter of Pharaoh, and to the L. the Annunciation.

There is no doubt an intentional apposition in the choice of these two subjects, as Moses, the redeemer of the Israelites from bondage and their lawgiver, was regarded as a type and figure of Christ. Near to the entrance there is a "pila," or holy water basin, with the figures of fish carved in relief. The intention, probably, is to allude to the symbolical meaning given to the fish as a figure of Christ: "This is that Fish which in Baptism is brought by in-

vocation into the waters of the font, so that what was water is, from Piscis, called Piscina."

Out of the door, which leads on to a balcony, there is a magnificent view over the surrounding country. Above this door (inside) is a Madonna and Child, by *Giannicola Manni*.

Left Aisle. At the end of the L. aisle is a Pietà, by *Bonfigli* (1425-1496). To the L. a stout and burly S. Jerome translates the Scriptures, and receives inspiration for the task from an angel. To the R. stands S. Leonard, a stiff and expressionless form, bearing a yoke in his right hand. This symbol reminds us of his works of charity for those who suffer adversity in prison or in slavery. In the centre of the picture Madonna bears the dead body of Christ on her knee. There is no undue exaggeration of expression nor of weak sentiment, but there is an unimaginative realism and a consequent lack of dignity in the conception.

The love of decoration comes out in the rich hanging in the background. This tendency may be noticed in some of the examples by Bonfigli in the gallery.

In the Baglioni Chapel there is a marble altar-piece by *Mino da Fiesole* (1431-1484), an unfortunate example of the master's manner. The subject is the Rising from the Tomb. Above the altar-piece is an Annunciation, an unimportant picture by *Pinturicchio* (1454-1513). On the R. wall of the chapel is a picture by *Sassoferrato*.

Farther on, in the L. aisle, is a copy, by Sassoferrato, of Raphael's Entombment.

The Capella Ranieri has a picture by Guido Reni (1574-1642), which need not detain the visitor.

The Chapel of the Holy Sacrament contains some exceedingly bad paintings by *Giorgio Vasari* (1512-1574), the historian of Italian art. These pictures are filled with enormous figures—pale, dry, hard, and uninteresting. They are supposed to have been painted in 1566. There is also an unimportant fragment attributed to Lo Spagna (working 1503-1532 ?).

Ninth bay. Adoration of the Magi, by Eusebio di San

Giorgio (working 1492-1527). This picture is distinctly one of the most satisfactory in the church, and it places Eusebio on a higher level than other examples attributed to him in the picture gallery. We may remark the growing tendency to realism which permits the representation of one of the kings as a negro.

Seventh bay. Annunciation. Supposed to be a copy from Raphael, made by Sassoferrato (1605-1685). A paltry effect is given by the representation of the Father Eternal seen through a window.

Fifth bay. Entombment, said to be by Perugino. It has nothing to recommend it; we note in particular the feeble rendering of the nude.

Pass through the Giardino del Frontone down to the Church of **S. Costanzo**. The church is outside the town, on the same ridge of hill as that upon which S. Pietro dei Cassinesi stands, and is reached from the Porta S. Pietro. The small building, with its simple and graceful bell-tower, and its round-arched portico on the southern side, forms a picturesque group with the Casa di Parrochia behind. The ground falls away rapidly to the east, north, and south, and the piazza in front of the church commands a wide view over the spacious Umbrian valley.

S. Costanzo, or Constantius, a Perugian, was elected the second bishop of his city, about the middle of the second century. He lived a godly and holy life, being described as just, strong, prudent, and temperate; and when the soldiers of Marcus Aurelius tried to constrain him to abjure his faith, he endured persecution with fortitude, issuing unhurt from the flames of the furnace, and singing hymns in the cauldron of boiling oil. He was decapitated near Foligno on the 28th of January 154, or according to others in 173, and his body was carried by a pious disciple to the place called Aiola, outside of the gate of S. Pietro of Perugia, and honourably buried, upon the spot where the Church of S. Costanzo now stands.

Every year on the 28th of January it was the custom of the magistrates, with the colleges of the arts, all the religious bodies, and the clergy, to visit the shrine of this saint, one of the patrons of the city, in procession, with the greatest devotion and magnificence. Ten prisoners were liberated annually on that day in honour of the saint, and all the expenses of the procession were borne by the Commune. The present church is a building dating from the end of the twelfth century, and is especially noteworthy as the only example of the Romanesque style of architecture in Perugia. It has been restored mainly at the instance of Pope Leo XIII., who was formerly Bishop of Perugia. The sculpture upon the western façade has several interesting features characteristic of the art of the twelfth century. The principal theme is the Announcement of the Gospel to all nations, and the regenerating power of the Word, upon the life of the Christian.

Upon the pediment at the top of the building is the figure of the Eternal surrounded by an aureole, at the foot of which spring branches of the vine, symbolical of the Church upon earth. Below this figure is a round window, with stone tracery composed of crosses and circles. In the centre is the Lamb, the Agnus Dei, holding the ensign of the resurrection. Round the circular window are the symbols of the four Evangelists supported on brackets. At the top are the Eagle (S. John) and the Angel (S. Matthew); at the bottom are the Ox (S. Luke) and the Lion (S. Mark). The window as a whole suggests the triumph of the Lamb, and the conquest of the world by the Gospel, which was spread over the four quarters of the globe. The sculptured friezes both above and below this window have figures of animals in the attitude of adoration before a cross or an altar, significant of the praise which all creation offers to the Lamb. On either side of the porch upon the wall are four panels, with the Cross as the principal theme. The two nearest to the door have on the arms of the cross and at the foot the figures of doves, lions, and griffins, representing the strong

Photograph : J. W. Cruickshank

THE SYMBOLS OF S. JOHN AND S. MARK

(By Buonamicus. Campo Santo, Pisa)

Compare with the carving at S. Costanza, Perugia

and the proud, who, as well as the meek and simple souls, take refuge beside the cross.

The sculpture round the doorway repeats, in a slightly different form, the ideas expressed in the upper part of the façade. The workmanship is rude, but in spite of the technical deficiencies the figures have an air of dignity and vitality.

Upon the lintel, the Eternal is seated on a rainbow enclosed within a glory, in the act of blessing and holding a roll of the law. At the sides are the four symbols of the Evangelists, each with an open book. The figure of the Legislator, with His servants the Evangelists, was the subject almost universally chosen for the principal place upon the west front of churches up to the end of the twelfth century. After that time the usual theme became the Last Judgment. In place of the Manifestation of the Word there is the Judgment.

The sculptured jambs have suffered much damage, and do not now appear to be in their original position.

A running scroll, with men and animals among the leaves, is a favourite subject for the lintel and side-posts of doorways. Other examples will be found on such Romanesque churches as the Duomo, Assisi; S. Pietro, and the Duomo, Spoleto; and the Duomo, Spello, where the main theme is the same, that of a plant bearing fruit and leaves, with men and animals in its branches.

There was evidently a symbolical significance attached to such figures, but no very satisfactory explanation has yet been given to cover all the variations in representation.

It has been suggested that the plant represents that which provides safety, shelter, and healing for the soul; it stands in fact for the same ideas as the symbolical tree in the book of Revelation, whose leaves were for the healing of the nations, and as the vine of the Lord.

The figures in the branches are symbols, signifying both the unregenerate man and the man whose wild and savage nature is changed to a state of holiness by feeding upon the Word.

A careful comparison of the various examples to be found in Romanesque sculpture would very probably lead to a more satisfactory solution of the underlying meaning.

At S. Costanzo, on the L., at the foot of the jamb, are several wild beasts tearing and rending one another, as man in the unregenerate state is a prey to evil passions. Above these animals a contrast is offered by birds dwelling in safety and peace among the branches, significant of the joys of those who live in harmony with the divine ruling. These two groups may also allude to the punishment of the wicked in hell, and the reward of the blessed in heaven, while birds feeding upon the vine, and drinking from the chalice, are symbols of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the instrument by means of which the regenerate nature is strengthened and the hope of blessedness attained.

The interior has been entirely restored. The walls and ceiling have been painted with symbolical designs, and several panel pictures, as well as the high altar, are in the Byzantine manner. The effect is good, and admirably suited to the general character of the building.

CHURCHES IN THE WESTERN DISTRICT

To reach the churches in the western part of the city leave the Corso Vanucci by the Via dei Priori (close to the Palazzo Communale). Just before reaching the Piazza of S. Francesco there is the small Church of **S. Madonna della Luce**. Inquire for the custode at the neighbouring bookshop. The altar-piece has been attributed to *Tiberio d'Assisi*; Madonna and Child with SS. Francis and Louis of Toulouse; above, in the sky, two angels bear a crown over the head of Madonna.

Turn to the R. on leaving this church and enter the Piazza S. Francesco.

The Oratory of S. Bernardino was built in 1459, fifteen

years after the death of the saint. The façade is covered with sculpture executed by *Agostino di Duccio* in 1461.

The central subject is the **Glory of S. Bernardino.** In the pediment Christ sits in the act of blessing, attended by angels in adoration. On the pilasters on each side of the building are two niches. The upper ones have a representation of the Annunciation, to the L. the Archangel Gabriel, and to the R. Madonna. The two lower niches have the Perugian bishops SS. Costanzo and Ercolano. The inscription running along the foot of the pediment is—"Augusta Perusia, MCCCLXI." The doorway has, in the tympanum, S. Bernardino in an aureole of flame, surrounded by angels, on a long panel, and on two panels (beneath the figures in Annunciation) are sculptured acts of the saints. On the pillars at the sides of the doors the panels have angels in low relief, except on the lower ones, on which are figures of Poverty and Chastity to the L., and Temperance and Obedience on the R. The angels round the central figure, and those on the panels at the sides of the door, make music on a variety of instruments. The composition expresses joy and praise to God for the life of the saint and for the miracles which he was permitted to work for the edification alike of the souls and the bodies of men. The virtues round the doorway represent the ascetic ideals of S. Francis and his followers, of whom S. Bernardino was counted among the stricter sort.

We shall better understand this monument if we compare it with others in which there was the same intention to glorify the divine power as it was manifested in the lives of great theologians and teachers. At Assisi, over the high altar in S. Francesco, a follower of Giotto has painted the Glory of S. Francis, with choirs of angels and bearing the cross and a book. The Glory of S. Augustine is found at S. Francesco in Pistoia, where the saint is seated on a great throne, the dove of the Holy Spirit descends on him, doctors of the Church surround him, and below are the Seven Virtues and the Seven

Liberal Arts. Here it was not so much the ascetic ideal which was proclaimed as the cultivation of knowledge and virtue by which man attains the goal of life. A somewhat similar lesson was taught by the Glory of S. Thomas Aquinas at S. Caterina in Pisa, where we see how he was inspired both by Holy Writ and Greek learning, and how he was thus enabled to bring light into dark places by his writings. The façade of S. Bernardino illustrates that view of life in which asceticism is the moving power in the world.

It is the ideal of the mendicant that is held up for imitation; it is by the Franciscan virtues that man is supposed to reach the true aim of life.

S. Bernardino spent his whole life in preaching, and on four occasions he came to Perugia. Once in the depth of a cold and hard winter he preached for five days, during which time the weather was softened so that there was neither rain nor cold. It was in 1425 that he made most impression; 3000 persons listened to him in the piazza; no work was done during the time, and debtors were freed from the danger of arrest.

Turning to the acts of the saint we see, below the figures of the Annunciation, two scenes, results of the preaching of S. Bernardino. In one of them the sheep kneel, and behind the preacher there appears on the wall the famous monogram with the name of Jesus.

On the panel below the tympanum there are three separate scenes. To the L. is the story of how a child was saved from drowning, and to the R. the devil appears to a man who has been condemned and cast into prison. Satan, however, is cheated of his prey by the saint, who appears with the chalice, and saves the unfortunate prisoner. In the centre panel between these two scenes there is a graphic picture of the burning of vanities. On one occasion S. Bernardino preached against the painting of the faces of the women, against their false and counterfeit hair, and their licentious behaviour; and in like manner against the games, the cards, and the dice of the men, and

Photograph: Alinari

MADONNA AND CHILD

By Agostino di Duccio. In the Museo dell' Opera del Duomo, Florence

Compare with the work of Agostino on S. Bernardino at Perugia

against charms and things of witchcraft. On the Saturday he caused all abominable things to be brought into the piazza, where a wooden castle was built and filled with vanities. On Sunday fire was set to the pile, and the heat was so great that no one could come near it. It was the memory of some such scene that prompted the design of the central panel, where we see the saint preaching, and groups of listeners looking on at the burning vanities, out of which the devil springs.

Agostino (1418-1481) is said to have been a pupil of Luca della Robbia, but his art has a distinctly personal character. He has no sympathy with mediæval methods, nor has he comprehension of the inherent quality of classical art. He is moved by the spirit of the Renaissance without being touched by that which is essential in Greek sculpture. His style has more affinity indeed with Gothic models. He has, however, no great respect for tradition of any sort, and seems to live and move in a fresh atmosphere, and with new motives. The larger statues in the round are not remarkable, but that of S. Bernardino in moderate relief has strength and vitality. It is in the figures in low relief, and particularly in the angels and the Virtues round the door, that we find something new; a style which shows a powerful individuality, an extraordinary flexibility of mind, a remarkable capacity for making swiftness of thought take visible shape. Subtle insight is matched by subtle execution. The long, lithe figures, with their flowing draperies, exceed the limits of gracefulness; the pose is sometimes forced, and the expression is occasionally exaggerated. But there is a joyousness in the life and an abandon in the feeling that carries us beyond such criticism. It is a picture of asceticism drawn by one who had no sympathy with it, and probably no true idea of what asceticism meant. There is no reserve or restraint in the method, and yet by some magic of brain and hand we get a true impression. The "Poverty" of Agostino is no mean associate for her who is wedded to S. Francis at Assisi.

S. Francesco al Prato, a church in the pointed style which received a Renaissance lining in the eighteenth century, is now being restored to its original state.

In 1277 it is said that the Perugians, finding that there were several of the Order of S. Francis dwelling in their city, and desiring to honour that great and glorious saint, decided to dedicate to him the ancient building formerly called Santa Susanna, a church that had always been much frequented by men of the city.

During the fourteenth century the Franciscans seem to have been held in high esteem by their fellow-citizens, and the buildings of S. Francesco were frequently used by the magistrates as places of meeting while the Palace of the Priors was undergoing alterations.

In 1310 four of the Padri of S. Francesco, as they are called by the chronicler, were chosen for the important office of reporting to the Priors the names of those worthy of being elected Podestà. They were sent to the various towns of Tuscany, Lombardy, and the March, to record the names of all those who had dignity and dominion, and who were most renowned in arms and in letters. From this list of names furnished by the brethren the magistrates made their choice of the new Podestà.

The Frati of the Penitenza of S. Francis, as those were called who held the rule of the saint in devotion but did not live the conventual life, also received important commissions from the governors of the town. In 1311, for instance, five of the brethren were elected by the Priors to collect a special tax laid upon the citizens, and a few years later ten were appointed to make a valuation of the property of the townfolk.

The Frati of the Penitenza also took part in the election of the Priors, which was often a combination of nomination and lot. In 1331 they were elected to assist the twenty-five citizens whose duty it was to make up a fresh list of the names of those considered to be eligible for election as Priors.

It was in this church that Fra Egidio, one of the first

followers of S. Francis, was buried, but the sarcophagus containing his remains is now in the church attached to the University.

In the crypt there are some frescoes of the school of Giotto, representing the Sposalizio, the Death of the Virgin, and the Crucifixion.

It was in this church that the body of Braccio Fortebraccio was laid in great state by the Perugians. Fortebraccio was killed in 1424, while fighting near Aquila, and was buried near Rome. His nephew, Niccolo della Stella, a condottiere employed by Eugenius IV., caused the bones to be taken up, and to be blessed by the Pope and carried to Perugia.

The citizens were prepared to show the greatest honour to their former lord, and the coffin, covered with a blue velvet pall, was carried in procession from S. Domenico to S. Francesco al Prato. The day was observed as a general holiday, and the procession included the consuls of the Arts, the Priors, the doctors of the University, escorted by forty knights.

II

EXCURSIONS FROM PERUGIA

TODI

TODI is a small town with less than four thousand inhabitants. It stands on the top of a hill between 1300 and 1400 feet high, overlooking the valley of the Tiber; more than twenty-five miles from Perugia, nearly twenty from Spoleto, and rather more than twenty from Terni. It may be reached by public motor car from Perugia or Terni, in each case in about two and a half hours.

[Todi lay on none of the great roads of ancient times; it has always been distant from any important centre of life; yet when the visitor stands in the piazza facing the Palazzo Comunale, the Palazzo dei Priori, and the Palazzo del Podesta, with a grand flight of steps leading up to the Duomo, he will be amazed at the dignity with which a small Italian community could surround itself, and at the fine sense of form in which it expressed its ideal of social relationships. Nor will his amazement be lessened when he finds three typical churches. The Duomo has suffered from restoration but the interior still has a fine Romanesque character; S. Fortunato is an example of the pointed style familiar in Italy in the fourteenth century; S. Maria della Consolazione is one of the most remarkable churches of the later Renaissance. If, in addition, he is fortunate enough to see the sun setting down the valley of the Tiber he will understand the charm of the dwelling-place of an ancient race set in the beauty of Umbrian landscape. Remains of massive walls belong-

ing to pre-Roman times still exist in the upper part of the town; coins of Umbrian or Etruscan origin have also been found. Belonging to the Roman period, there are fragments of walls and traces of a theatre, an amphitheatre, of baths and mosaic pavements. Several works of art, including a bronze statue of Mars, now in the Vatican, have been found.

During the period of the Barbarian invasions the city owed much to the zeal of its Bishop, S. Fortunato (d. 537); his services are commemorated to this day on the 30th June.

In the times of the iconoclastic controversy, Gregory II. extended the control of the Church over Todi. Her history in succeeding ages is mainly concerned with rebellions against and submissions to the papal power. In course of time the citizens were allowed to elect their own consuls and Podestà, and within certain limits to administer their own affairs. The people were renowned for their valour, and during the thirteenth century they conquered neighbouring towns, amongst others Terni and Amelia. At the end of the thirteenth century and in the beginning of the fourteenth, the town fell under the lordship of members of the family of the Counts of Basco.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Todi had relationship with most of the forces that made the history of the papacy, with Cola di Rienzo, the tribune of Rome, with Cardinal Albornoz, who retrieved the power of the papacy in Central Italy while the Pope was at Avignon, and with sundry condottieri who contrived to serve at once themselves and the head of the Church. At one time the town played a part in the romantic history of Francesca Sforza. Eugenius IV. sold Todi to Sforza for a sum of money. Sforza took the territory but did not pay the money; so uncertain, however, was the power of the Pope, and so great was the need for the soldier, that two years later, in 1434, he was made Vicar-General of the Church.

The most illustrious name connected with Todi is that

of Jacopone da Todi. He was a lawyer and belonged to the Benedetti family. The course of his life was changed by the accidental death of his wife in 1268 at a wedding feast, when she was found to have been wearing a hair shirt under her splendid robes. The shock caused Jacopone to renounce the world; he sold his property and for ten years he courted every form of indignity that could add to his penance. At the end of this time he became a lay brother of the Franciscan order. He was a keen Zelanti and he was thus led to take part in the struggle against Boniface VIII., who in 1298 put him in prison. It is said that one day as Boniface was passing the prison he asked the poet tauntingly when he intended to come out. "When you come in," was the reply. Like a true son of S. Francis, Jacopone threw all the enthusiasm and vivacity of his nature into the poetic expression of deep and tender emotion. For his "Laude" he used the vulgar tongue, and the forms of popular minstrelsy; his Latin poetry, in which he dwells on the joys and sorrows of the Virgin, is more widely known.]

From the piazza a broad flight of twenty-nine steps leads to the platform on which the **Duomo** is built. The church is said to date from the eleventh century, but the façade was renewed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the pointed manner. The general effect is unusual and bald; there is no gable, not even a cornice to relieve the horizontal line of the façade. The building is of fine yellow stone with pilasters of red marble. There are three doors of pointed design. The central door, in place of retreating planes with shafts and mouldings, has broad scrolls of foliage springing from a crown of leaves, in a fashion recalling the eastern door of the Pisan baptistery in some of its detail. The side doors have shafts and mouldings with boldly cusped tympanums; red marble is effectively used in the detail. Over the central door is an elaborate wheel window. On the L. flank of the building and on the apse of one of the choir chapels, which

has been spared, there is interesting Romanesque detail.

The interior of the Duomo is spacious ; it is in the main undisturbed by the alterations which one change of temperament after another has added to the design. The nave arcade is formed of alternate piers and columns ; they are nine in number, and they support round arches above which an unbroken wall rises to the clerestory. The nave capitals are carved with great vigour and freedom. Note the wind-blown forms on the second capital to the R.

The piers which alternate with the columns are of Renaissance design ; on the flat pilasters facing into the nave there are sculptured figures : beginning at the entrance to the R., Madonna and Child ; opposite, on the L., a woman with a book. 2nd, on the R., S. Peter ; opposite, on the L., S. Paul. 3rd, on the R., an angel ; opposite, on the L., Christ with cruciform nimbus. 4th, to the R., S. Michael destroying the dragon ; opposite, on the L., Madonna with a dove. Out of the R. aisle, a side aisle has been added of light pointed construction ; in it is the baptismal font resting on lions, with the symbols of the Evangelists on the base. The choir is raised above the nave by seven steps ; the intarsia of the stalls was executed by *Antonio Bencevenis* in 1530.

The choir and the added aisle to the R. are roofed with groined vaulting ; in the nave and the other aisles the vaulting is probably comparatively modern.

Over the second altar to the L., in the nave, there is a fragment of mosaic representing the Trinity, ascribed to Lo Spagna. In the choir modern pictures of the Annunciation and Coronation have been painted, and on the entrance wall a Last Judgment.

Throughout the building there are frequent surprises and striking changes of style, but the general effect is harmonious ; the predominant atmosphere of the interior is due to the original Romanesque design.

The **Palazzo Communale** and the **Palazzo dei Priori** date

from the thirteenth century. These two buildings are connected by the staircase which leads up to the main entrances. The **Palazzo del Podestà** was begun in 1293. The architectural detail of the three buildings differs considerably, but each is a magnificent mass of masonry; the windows of the Palazzo Communale are interesting specimens of the Italian pointed style. The Piazza of Todi ranks with those of Volterra and Pistoia; it is among the finest in Central Italy.

In some of the rooms of the Palazzo Communale there is a collection, mainly of things found in the district: Bucchero ware, Etruscan coins, Etruscan soldier in armour, a bronze boar, Roman coins and pots, mediæval arms; processional crosses, pastoral staff, crucifix by Giovanni da Bologna; bas-relief, S. John the Baptist, two small statuettes in the Italo-Byzantine manner; detached frescoes, Madonna and Child, school of Perugino. In a hall downstairs is the Coronation of the Virgin, by *Lo Spagna*. The scene is heaven and set under a baldacchino, beneath kneel a group of mendicants, mitred bishops, doctors, etc. The picture is of imposing size, but it is lacking in fine character.

S. Fortunato.—Leave the Piazza by the Via Mazzini to the R. of the Palazzo del Podestà; in a few minutes the façade of S. Fortunato is seen at the top of a flight of steps, now in a somewhat ruinous condition. The church was founded in 1292 and the work was carried on until the fifteenth century; the façade, which is said to have been designed by *Lorenzo Maitani*, remains incomplete above the level of the central door. The two side doors have round arches with twisted shafts and mouldings. The central door is of unusual dignity and elaboration: the arch is pointed, the shafts and mouldings are of intricate design; they are carved with foliage and putti, and on one pilaster on each side there are a number of sculptured scenes—on the R., S. Francis receives the stigmata, the Sacrifice of Isaac, King David and his Harp, etc.; on the L., the figures are probably those of the

Apostles. In the mouldings of the arch, there are choirs of angels, saints, bishops, etc.

The Interior is a spacious design in the pointed Italian style; the nave arcade consists of three piers of clustered columns from which spring the vaulting arches at the clerestory level; a small choir ends in a pentagonal apse. The stalls were carved by Antonio Maffei in 1590. Behind the high altar is a large statue of S. Fortunato. In the crypt beneath are buried SS. Digna, Romana, Callisto, Cassiano, and Fortunato, also the Franciscan poet, Jacopone da Todi, who died in 1306.

In the fourth chapel to the R., in the nave, a fragment of fresco representing Madonna and Child is ascribed to Fra Angelico; in the sixth chapel to the L. is a highly venerated Madonna carved in dark wood; the work is modern.

The monastery attached to S. Fortunato is now used for well equipped schools, elementary and technical. The remains of the Rocca are close to S. Fortunato; from the path which leads round the walls there is a magnificent view of the valley of the Tiber and the mountainous country to the south and west.

At a considerable distance down the hill and on the road by which the town is entered stands the Church of **S. Maria della Consolazione**. The work was begun in 1508 from the design of Cola di Mateuccio da Caprarola; in 1516 and 1517 Ambrogio da Milano and Francesco de Vito Lombardo were carrying on the work; the cupola was not finished till the seventeenth century. The design is spoken of as inspired by Bramante; there is a greater certainty that Baldassare Peruzzi gave some assistance.

The general character of the design is not unlike the Church of S. Biagio at Montepulciano, which was begun in 1518.

At Todi, however, there is no complication of the design from a campanile. The plan is simple: upon a Greek cross a cupola is raised and at the end of each arm of the cross there is a large apse. The design and its decoration are in the severe style which marks the close of the Re-

Photograph: Brogi

DETAIL FROM THE CRUCIFIXION

(In S. M. Maddalena dei Pazzi, Florence. By Perugino)

Compare with the fresco by Perugino at Panicale

naissance; there is none of the Barocco exaggeration so common in Roman churches. Everywhere there is a sense of restraint, a passion for propriety; it looks as if even unimportant detail was admitted only on the highest authority; precedent rules everything; it is a marvel of correct formality.

The vast interior is striking; it cannot be called beautiful; the elimination of the human element is too complete.

On the pendentives are the Evangelists with their symbols in garlands of fruit and flowers. One of the apses forms the choir with the high altar. In the other three apses there are niches with large figures of the Apostles.

Return to the piazza and take the Corso Cavour; turn down a narrow lane known as the Mercato Vecchio, pass the remains of **Roman buildings**, the ancient forum, and four semi-domes with a fine frieze and ancient masonry. Below is the Church of **S. Ilario**, with an open belfry and a fine rose window. Over an altar, to the L., a fresco with the Mater Misericordia.

PANICALE AND CITTÀ DELLA PIEVE

The rise and decline of the fifteenth-century Umbrian school of painters may be seen in the gallery at Perugia. But it is otherwise with the art of *Perugino* himself. The student, besides journeying through French museums, must visit many Italian churches which lie somewhat out of the beaten track, if he would estimate Perugino fairly.

Panicale and Città della Pieve have two remarkable examples of the master's work, and apart from the artistic satisfaction that may be gained, no one will regret the journey made to visit them. A pleasant method of reaching these towns is to drive from Perugia, following at first the line of railway in the direction of Terontola, and turning aside along the southern shores of Lake Trasimeno. Panicale lies above the level of the lake, and during the

long climb up to the town there are lovely views of the lake, with the Umbrian and Tuscan valleys and mountains as a background.

Panicale is no more than a village if we regard its size; but the towers and walls, the gateway through which we pass, the paved streets shadowed by high houses, the piazza, fountain, and municipal buildings, all remind us that in Italy the dignity of life resting directly on ancient civilisation does not depend upon a teeming population. It was in the Church of **S. Sebastiano** that Perugino painted the martyrdom of the saint. The visitor will do well to remain near the door of the church, and not attempt to go near the picture. Let him use a good field-glass, and he will be able to enjoy the single figure of S. Sebastian, pale in colour, hardly relieved indeed from its delicate background, and distinguished by simplicity and grace. The scene is set in a semicircular portico of Renaissance design. There is a most charming air of noonday in summer. It is the court of some palace far too magnificent to be crowded: a place where life is lived on too great a scale to allow of ordinary emotion. S. Sebastian stands bound to his pillar, without a trace of personal anxiety. He looks upwards with a devout and somewhat melancholy air. In an evil moment Perugino has added an uninspired and unimaginative design in the pediment above, which is without charm of any kind. Fortunately, both this part of the picture and the archers below can be cut off from the central design, if the spectator is at a sufficient distance.

Another fresco, attributed to Perugino, and unfortunately much damaged, is preserved in this church. Madonna and Child are attended by four angels making music. Two angels float in the air above, holding a crown over Madonna's head. Below kneel S. Mary Magdalene and a Bishop.

The road from Panicale to **Città della Pieve** leads down a steep hill into a valley, where the stream is lined by poplar-trees, and where even in the heat of summer there is verdure. Several small hill towns are passed, and, as the

high ground is again reached, views of Lake Trasimeno, of Cortona, and of Perugia, appear and disappear as the road rises and falls.

The town of Città della Pieve stands high above the railway which passes between Chiusi and Orvieto. It is the seat of a Bishop, and the birthplace of Pietro Vannucci (Perugino), 1446. In the Duomo there are several pictures by Perugino, of no great merit. The subjects are: Madonna and Child with SS. Peter, Paul, Gervasius, and Protasius, behind the choir. To the R. of the choir, Madonna and Child on a high throne, with SS. John the Evangelist and Peter Martyr and S. John the Baptist and another Martyr. In the first chapel to the L., in the nave, is the Baptism of Christ.

The object of a visit to this place is the great fresco by *Perugino*, in **Sta. Maria dei Bianchi.** It is an immense design, twenty-six or twenty-eight feet wide, representing the Adoration of the Magi. The picture was painted in 1504. It is a busy scene. Soldiers and others ride down the hills in the background. Shepherds in sentimental pose tend their flocks in the middle distance. In the foreground the old king kneels before the Child, while an attendant holds his crown, and, at some little distance to the R., another king of middle age also kneels. These two kings are nimbed. The third, a young man, stands behind; he wears a crown over his hat, and has no nimbus. There are attendant groups to R. and L., each figure carefully placed, and wearing a self-conscious air.

The picture has been damaged and the gracious effect of the colour has to some extent gone, but there is still a flash of gold in the detail, and in the far distance there is some dream of the Lake of Trasimeno lying between gentle hills, on which grow trees that are only seen in Perugino's frescoes. As the traveller drives down among the oak woods along the steep road which leads to Chiusi, he will count himself fortunate in memories of the celestial landscape which will haunt him long after he has forgotten the somewhat feeble drama of the picture.

III

ASSISI

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE town of Assisi stands on the slopes of Monte Subasio, overlooking the broad valley which is drained by the Topino and the Chiagio. To the west lies Perugia, to the south-east Spello, Foligno, Trevi, and Spoleto.

The modern town occupies the site of the Roman town of Assisum, and there are still remains of the Imperial age to be found. The forum, the amphitheatre, and the portico of the Temple of Minerva carry us back nearly 2000 years.

During the conflict following the downfall of the Western Empire, the town suffered in the Gothic wars, and about 574 it fell into the hands of the Lombards. The Bishopric dates from very early times, and in the ninth century the Bishop appears to have been the most important personage in the town.

In the eleventh century there are signs of an increasing complication in life, a Count of Assisi is mentioned in 1017. The monastery of S. Pietro was built in 1029. Under Bishop Ugone (1036) the rebuilding of the Duomo was undertaken, and in 1041 a Benedictine monastery was built on Monte Subasio.

In the twelfth century the town put itself in opposition to the policy of the Emperor Barbarossa and suffered in consequence. In 1177 his army captured the Rocca, and Conradin of Lutzen, Duke of Spoleto, was made Count of Assisi. In 1197 the grandson of Barbarossa (afterwards Frederick II.), who had been placed under care of Conradin,

was, when three years old, baptised in the Duomo, in the presence of fifteen bishops and cardinals. In 1198 Conradin resigned the Duchy of Spoleto to Innocent III., the men of Assisi seizing the opportunity to destroy the Rocca and to build walls round the town.

During the centuries which followed, Assisi was generally under the influence of her most powerful neighbour, for the time being—the Commune of Perugia, the Papal legate, the House of Montefeltro, or some soldier of fortune.

Visitors will notice that the town is proud of Metastasio (Pietro Trapassi), the son of an Assisan father, who was born in Rome in 1698 and who died in 1782, after achieving reputation as a writer of dramas which were set to music and became extremely popular.

But the real source of the importance of the town is, that it was the birthplace of S. Francis and that it was here that the mendicant revival in Italy took its rise. In the church at S. Damiano, in the Chapel of the Porziuncola, in the cell of the Carceri, we can realise something of the simple-minded and self-denying character of S. Francis; in the Church of S. Francesco and in the magnificent space of S. Maria degli Angeli, we realise the power of a great order, one of the mainstays of the mediæval papacy. These places, rendered venerable by their connection with the history of the saint, have caused Assisi to become one of the chief sanctuaries of the Latin Church.

The new activity which had begun to work in the minds of men in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries found one side of its artistic expression in Giotto and his disciples, just as its spiritual development is to be seen in S. Francis and his brethren.

This close relationship between the spiritual life of the mendicants and the artistic life of the Giotteschi has produced in San Francesco a monument, wonderful alike for its interpretation of the source of the power which S. Francis has over mankind, and for the beauty of its expression.

We find in this one church examples of the beginnings

of native style, in which the native workman followed in the steps of Byzantine tradition. We find also how these beginnings develop into the two great Tuscan schools of Florence and Siena, and we can thus study all the important influences which lie at the foundation of Italian art.

The Temple of Minerva, the Romanesque façade of the Duomo, the ruins of the Rocca, the pointed arches of S. Francesco, and the dome of S. Maria degli Angeli recall the long history and the varied civilisation of this little mountain town. It is a picture of the high activities of a brilliant race.

THE DUOMO

The Cathedral is dedicated in the name of **S. Rufino,** an Umbrian bishop martyred about the year 239. The bones of the martyr were carefully preserved by the faithful in an ancient pagan sarcophagus, and were not translated until the fifth century. They were then removed to the small church which stood upon the site of the present Duomo.

In 1028 Bishop Ugone made use of an outburst of religious fervour among the people to replace the old building by a new and much larger church.

Nothing of this construction can now be seen except **the crypt,** which has been lately excavated. It forms an interesting record of the architecture of the time. There are some traces of fresco paintings, and the columns have capitals of tenth and eleventh century workmanship.

During the excavations a wall was uncovered with a carved panel of very early date, probably of the eighth century. It represents a cross with two doves enclosed in a triangle, having bunches of grapes and ivy leaves in the corners. The wall itself, it is supposed, forms part of the original church erected in the fifth century.

In the crypt there is also the fine sarcophagus in which the body of S. Rufino was preserved until the rebuilding of the church in the twelfth century. The relief upon the front represents Diana and Endymion.

Returning again to the Piazza, we see in front of us the Façade, which was begun in 1134 under the direction of Maestro Giovanni da Gubbio. The church had become the cathedral, and was dedicated in the names of S. Rufino and of Santa Maria. Nothing except the façade was completed at this time, and the rest of the church (partially restored during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) was finally transformed into a Renaissance building in 1571 by Alessi, the Perugian architect. **The massive Campanile** was begun in the eleventh century, and was continued, but not entirely finished, in the next. Part of the upper construction is of modern date.

The Façade is a good example of Romanesque building in the Lombard style.

The architectural features are not in themselves particularly striking, yet the effect of the façade and tower is venerable and picturesque. The impression of great antiquity which the building gives is perhaps due to the unusually dark colour of the stone, and the archaic look of the sculptures. The effect of the church on the whole is rugged and homely, and one can easily understand how it should have been regarded for many generations as the "Domum," the house of refuge and of consolation.

The principal features to be noticed are, the three round-headed doorways, the row of small columns with a richly carved cornice below, and the three beautiful circular windows.

The subject of the sculptures upon the façade is chiefly the virtue of the Sacraments of the Church. This subject is illustrated not by a series of descriptive or historical figures, but by symbols.

The state of man without grace, and the power of the sacraments to save him from sin and death, is shown by striking images drawn from the animal world.

The Central Door.—In the lunette, enclosed in a circular aureole, is the figure of Christ, the Ruler of the world, seated upon a throne, with the sun and moon on either side. He holds the book of the law and points to His

mother, as though indicating the way of salvation, by means of the Incarnation. On the R. stands the martyr Bishop Rufino. The three small heads between the principal figures are supposed to represent the three other martyr saints whose relics are preserved in the Duomo, namely, S. Cessidus, the son of Rufino, and the two deacons Marcellus and Exuperantius. These three were all put to death during the persecutions which were carried on in Umbria in the reign of Diocletian.

Turning now to **the mouldings round this doorway.** The most important one is rounded and has figures in high relief. The lower part, on the jambs of the door, is covered with animals, tearing, rending, and devouring one another. These are types of man in his fallen and unregenerate state, a prey to his passions. The same moulding carried round the arch over the door has eight groups of small figures, which cannot be easily distinguished. A crowned woman on a throne, on the L. side, probably represents the Church. The baptism of a child and of an adult signify the means of grace.

The flat mouldings have designs of a conventionalised vine plant, with small figures of men gathering the fruit and birds eating the grapes. These designs represent allegorically the life of the Christian in the Church, nourished by its sacraments.

Such a theme is frequently illustrated upon the mouldings of Romanesque doorways. Attention should be given to the various details, and a comparison made between different examples.

The Side Doorways.—In the lunettes are two striking images of the mysteries of the Christian faith. Above the door to the R. two peacocks drink from a large vase, and above the door to the L. two lions in a similar fashion are placed on either side of a great vessel.

Such a design, in which animals stand upon either side of some sacred object, as, for instance, a tree or an altar, is a common means of expressing devotion or worship. It exists in the art of many ancient races.

The sculptures over the doorways at Assisi illustrate the efficacy of the sacraments of Baptism and of the Eucharist. The large vessel is a figure, not only of the font, but also of the chalice. The lion signifies the fortitude which the Christian derives from these sources of purification and life. The peacock, because of the supposed incorruptibility of its flesh, is an emblem of the gift of immortal life received through the Christian sacraments.

The Lintels.—In the centre of each lintel is the Lamb, the "Agnus Dei," supported (on the R. door) by the four symbols of the Evangelists; (on the L.) by two eagles with outspread wings. The eagle, on account of its soaring flight and its power of looking at the sun, was used as a figure of the soul in contemplation.

On the **jambs of the doors** and round the lunette are symbols representing the Christian in the midst of temptations. The cross has the central position in the half circle. At the sides of the door are emblems of the baptised soul, the fish, the stag, and the dove, combined with symbolical figures of the devil represented as a dragon and as a two-headed monster.

The animals, sculptured in the round, and placed at the sides of the doorways as guardians are one of the characteristic features of Romanesque buildings.

Those at the side doors are much destroyed, and can no longer be recognised. Those at the central door are excellent examples of lions as they were commonly represented by the sculptors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Such guardian animals, whether griffins or lions, signify the office of the Church in its twofold capacity of protecting the humble and punishing the proud. It will be noticed that, as a general rule, the animal on the L. punishes while the one on the R. protects. Here the lion on the L. devours a man who is perhaps intended to represent a soldier, the usual emblem of heretical pride. The lion on the R. protects a sheep, which lies peacefully between the fore-feet of the guardian. The sheep is the type of the humble Christian.

Photograph: J. W. Cruickshank

MADONNA AND CHILD

(From S. Michele, Pavia)

Compare with the Sculpture over the central door of the Duomo at Assisi

The Sculptured Cornice, underneath the colonnade, has a number of fantastic-looking animals, frequently described as "grotesques."

When examined, however, they are found to be of the same character as the other parts of the decoration. They are illustrations of familiar legends, or symbols of some abstract quality.

Immediately above the central door, for instance, are two small winged dragons placed back to back, and hemmed in by two stags that attack them on either side. The stag was said to be the great enemy of dragons and serpents, killing them whenever it could. The stag or hart, on the authority of Scripture (Ps. xlii.), was an emblem of the Christian thirsting after righteousness. Hence an image of a stag destroying a serpent suggested to the mind the Christian turning against his vices and destroying them. (A fine illustration of the subject will be found on the Church of S. Pietro, Spoleto.)

To the R. of these stags, on the cornice, are several pairs of animals drinking from a vase. These figures repeat the allusion to the sacraments expressed in the lunettes above the side doors. The animals here, however, are dragons and other monsters, emblems not of the true believer, but of those who are living in mortal sin and yet dare to remain in the Church.

The Round Windows.—The symbols of the four Evangelists are placed round about the central window, and below are the figures of three men who appear to sustain the weight of the circle.

The window may be intended to stand for the globe of the world, and the three men perhaps indicate the three parts of the earth, Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The round window to the L. has a little figure of the Archangel Michael in the centre. On the outside of the circle, on the wall, are two statues probably representing S. Peter and S. Paul.

(A more detailed study of the figures upon the façade

will be found in Canon Elisei's "Studio sulla Cathedrale," Assisi, 1893.)

The Interior.—Close to the entrance is the round font in which the citizens of Assisi for many generations have been baptised, including S. Francis, Sta. Chiara, and her sister Agnes. Here also, in 1197, the Emperor Frederick II. received baptism when three years of age. He was living at that time under the charge of his tutor, Conrad of Swabia, Duke of Spoleto.

In the nave, in front of the bishop's throne, is **a triptych by Niccolo da Foligno** (living between 1430-1502), a pupil of Benozzo Gozzoli. It represents the Virgin and Child with four saints. The first to the R. is S. Rufino, the bishop, beside him is the martyr Exuperantius. On the L. stands S. Pietro Damiano, who wrote the life of S. Rufino. He holds a book, and his neighbour, the deacon Marcellus, presents an inkpot to the author, having in his other hand a scroll with the first words of the Gospel of John. This scroll is significant of one of the duties of the deacon's office as reader of the Scriptures. The figures of the saints are grave and dignified, and there are no trifling accessories or studies of still life introduced to disturb the character of the picture. The Predella has the story of the martyrdom of the patron saint in three scenes. In the first we see the holy man subjected to the flames, but remaining uninjured. He was then thrown into the river Chiagio and drowned. It is said that when the body was recovered a lily sprang from the mouth and described how the martyr had died. The third scene represents the translation of the body into the city.

The relics of the saint are preserved in a black marble urn made in 1850. The choir stalls, ornamented with intarsiatura, were executed in 1520 by Giovanni da S. Severino.

MONUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE LIFE OF S. FRANCIS

S. Francis, Frate Elias, and the Church of S. Francesco

Francis was born in 1182. In the year 1202 he was captured during a war with the Perugians, and remained in prison until 1203. A grave illness interrupted his usual careless life as one of the rich youths of Assisi, and led to the awakening of the serious side of his nature. Stories are told of how he gave the rich accoutrements prepared for his own adventures to a poor knight, how also he befriended lepers by personal service. But it was in the year 1206 that his vision before the Crucifix in S. Damiano fully awakened his spirit and gave him the sense of mystical union with Divine Light, which never afterwards failed him. The change brought differences between father and son to a head. There was no halting between two opinions, "henceforth I only say our Father in heaven." In the spring of 1209 while hearing Mass at the Porziuncola the words in Matt. x. came as a direct message: "Go ye, preach, saying, The Kingdom of heaven is at hand . . . provide neither gold nor silver . . . nor scrip for your journey." Next year Francis with twelve disciples presented their rule to Pope Innocent III.; the rule has not been preserved, but M. Sabatier describes it as a spontaneous and inspired appeal to the heart, short in form and written in the language of the Gospel. The brethren became preachers in all parts of the world, and in 1218-1220 Francis was in Egypt in hope of converting the Sultan.

His return was followed by one of the crises in his life. The success of the Brethren brought with it an ever-increasing pressure from the world and a sorrowful burden to the spirit of Francis. The sadness of his heart did not impair the clearness of his mind; he knew that the policy of a great organisation had nothing in common with the

life of the mystic, and as in the early days he renounced the claim of family, so now he laid down the generalship of the order. At the chapter held in September 1220, prostrating himself in holy obedience before the brother who was to succeed him, he raised his hands in prayer, saying, " I have neither the strength nor the qualities to continue the care of them," *i.e.* the brethren. Four years later at La Verna he entered into the fruition of mystical life sealed for him by the sign of the stigmata. A year later, suffering from partial blindness, he spent some weeks at S. Damiano and there once more the natural spontaneity and joyousness of his soul broke forth in the " Canticle to the Sun." His generous disposition was perfected by a life of self-abnegation, by a ruthless determination to discard the lower purposes of life for the higher, and thus there emerged perhaps the most characteristic and striking personality of the Middle Ages. His personality offers a solution of the most difficult questions that men must still try to answer for themselves, although it may be as Pope Innocent said, that " the life appears too difficult." Amid all the great names that crowd the record of his time, the spirit of S. Francis slowly clearing itself from the trammels of the accidental and the transitory still shows a clear light to mankind.

Francis died on the 4th October 1226; he was canonised in 1228 and already land had been given for the building of a church in which he might be buried. It is uncertain who was the architect of S. Francesco, the names of Jacopo Tedesco, Fra Filippo di Campello, and Fra Giovanni della Penna have been suggested, but whoever the architect may have been, Frate Elias was the ruling spirit.

It has been said that twelve disciples went with Francis to Rome in 1210. The name of Elias does not occur in any of the lists of those early brethren, although it has been supposed that he had been the companion of Francis in his spiritual exercises, before the vision at S. Damiano; however that may have been this disciple was destined to play a leading part in the future of the order.

Francis and Elias, although closely united, were men of different habit. Francis saw all created things in the glow of a spiritualised imagination, Elias saw the same vision in the light of a logical mind trained in worldly affairs; Francis appealed as a poet, as the "Jongleur" of God, directly to the hearts of men, Elias found perfection in an organised institution; Francis drew men to him by the beauty of his mystical nature, by sincerity of feeling, Elias aimed at ordering the minds of men so that their consciousness should be expressed in custom, order, and a willingness to submit to authority. Each of them found the true means in mendicancy. For the one the rule of poverty, chastity, and obedience led to that holy simplicity which found divine beauty everywhere; for the other the same rule was the root of that influence over men which gave the right and the power to enforce authority, stamped with divine significance even in its human manifestation. This difference in point of view led, particularly after the death of Francis, to dissension. Pope Gregory IX. in 1230 decided against the brethren who sought to follow strictly the rule of the founder. In 1232 Frate Elias became general of the order, and even after his deposition in 1239 he is said to have continued to control the building of S. Francesco. It cannot be said that the work represented the romance of the human spirit as men saw it in the life of S. Francis; it was rather a realisation of the worldly aspect of the order. Throughout the hundred years or more in which the building was perfected the changes in artistic method served to add point to the general conception out of which arose the vast epic of mendicancy. The life of Christ as the exemplar of human life, and the conformity of the life of Francis with the life of Christ, such was the idea that brought harmony into the work of so many men and so many schools.

The buildings of S. Francesco are on three levels: on the lowest is the crypt in which S. Francis was buried; above that is the lower church, and above the lower is the upper church. It has been thought that the original

plan included both lower and upper churches, but it is probable that the building of the lower church was at first limited to the choir, to short arms of the transept and three bays of the nave. The campanile was finished in 1238 (or earlier), when a bell was hung bearing the names of the Cæsar Frederick, the Pope Gregory, and the General Elias. The fourth bay of the nave (now part of the atrium) was added, and later still the bays to the R. and L., which together with the fourth bay form the atrium as we now see it. The building of the upper church proceeded slowly until the coming of Innocent IV. to Assisi in 1253, when he consecrated the basilica. He desired that the church should be speedily finished and permitted Fra Filippo di Campello to receive gifts for the purpose. The completion of the upper church has been assigned to about the time when S. Bonaventura became general of the order, *i.e.* in about 1257. The next impulse to the work came from Fra Girolamo Mascio of Ascoli who was general (1274-1279), and who became Pope as Nicholas IV. (1288-1294); in his time and in the succeeding years at the end of the thirteenth century and in the beginning of the fourteenth century side chapels were added to the lower church, the walls were decorated with marble and much fresco painting was done. The Chapel of S. Martino is connected with the name of Cardinal Gentile Partino di Montefiori, who died in 1312; the Chapel of S. Mary Magdalene is associated with Tebaldo of Todi, Bishop of Assisi, 1314-1329; the Chapel of S. Nicholas with Cardinal Gian Gaetano Orsini, d. 1339; the Chapel of S. Catherine or del Crocefisso is supposed to have been founded by Cardinal Albornoz, who was buried there (d. 1367). Thus by the middle of the fourteenth century the pile had assumed its present appearance; its decoration was complete and the only noteworthy additions were due to the influence of the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV. To his time the burial cloister (1478) is attributed, and a few years later the present entrance to the lower church (1487) and the small Oratory of S. Bernardino opposite to it (1488) were added.

In the building of S. Francesco, Frate Elias adopted the pointed style of architecture, such as the Cistercians were using for their churches, although with many modifications. In the lower church the builder is casting the new forms into the mould of Romanesque habit, but in the upper church there is a frank acceptance of the new French spirit.

The earliest paintings are those on the nave walls of the lower church, attributed to Giunta Pisano, dating probably from about 1236. After the deposition of Frate Elias in 1239 a number of generals chosen from the more zealous brethren succeeded. They represented the objection of S. Francis to great and magnificent buildings, and even S. Bonaventura (general, 1257-1274) was opposed to anything that could offend against the rule of Holy Poverty. This tendency of the zealous brethren was felt in the slow progress of the upper church, and it is probable that the frescoes on its walls were not painted until long after its completion, probably not until towards the end of the thirteenth century. No written evidence has yet been found as to the authorship or date of the older frescoes in the upper church ; they have been attributed to Cimabue, to Cavallini, to Rusutti, and others ; they are the work of several hands, and but for their bad condition they would be the finest examples of painting preceding the changes wrought by Duccio, Simone Martini, and Giotto. To these men is due the impulse that produced the series of the life of S. Francis in the upper church and the fourteenth-century art in the transepts and chapels of the lower church. The encyclopædic habit of the schoolmen which prompted them to write huge dictionaries of universal knowledge reacted on the plans of fresco painting ; to philosophical and theological activities there were added the virtues of the terrestrial life, and the poignancy of individual experience : thus the frescoes of S. Francesco become a picture of mediæval life.

The Significance of the Pictures in S. Francesco

The purpose of the frescoes in the upper and lower churches may be most easily understood if they are taken in the following order :—

I. *In the nave, choir, and transepts of the upper church,* the frescoes deal with the general relation between God and man, as set forth in Scripture.

II. *In the right and left transepts of the lower church* there is the history of the Incarnation and Resurrection.

III. *In the chapels of the lower church,* the Acts of S. Mary Magdalene, S. Stephen, S. Lawrence, S. Catherine, S. Nicholas, and S. Martin are described.

IV. The Franciscan ideal is painted *over the high* ***altar*** *of the lower church,* and the Acts of S. Francis *in the nave of the upper church.*

I. **The system of frescoes throughout the upper church.** —Apart from the Franciscan pictures the series in the upper church gives a complete history of the world in its relation to man. The scenes of Creation are followed by the history of the Fall and the story of the Patriarchs (on the R. wall of the nave). Opposite to these frescoes is an account of the Incarnation (on the L. wall of the nave), which finds it completion in the Life and Death of the Virgin and her Coronation in Heaven (in the choir). The Gospel of the Incarnation was preached by the Apostles (southern transept), it was recorded by the Evangelists (vault), and taught by the Doctors (vault). The whole is brought to a conclusion in the Vision of the End of the World (northern transept), where on the one hand the prayers of the saints are offered up before the Throne, and on the other there is depicted the Fall of Babylon, typical of the fate of sinners.

The disposition of scenes from the Old and New Testaments in relation to each other, such as we find in the nave of the upper church, is common in mediæval thought. The law written by the finger of God is a foreshadowing of

the Gospel. The men of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries did not regard the history of the world as divided into "ancient" and "modern"; they had a stronger sense of historical continuity than we have, and the change from the old to the new was no more than a passing from the type to its realisation. S. Augustine, speaking of the Old Testament, says: "In every page, while I pursue my search as a son of Adam in the sweat of my brow, Christ either openly or covertly meets me and refreshes me." Christ was killed in Abel; He was mocked in Noah; He was sacrificed in Isaac; He was made a servant in Jacob; He was sold in Joseph.

The Old and the New Testaments, the writings of the Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists, the unveiling of the Vision, and the teaching of the Doctors, all had one end—they are the record of Faith (*Par.* xxiv. 91-96), they encourage our Hope (*Par.* xxv. 88-90), they animate our Love (*Par.* xxvi. 25-27). We realise the purpose of the design of the upper church as a whole in Dante's saying, that his belief in God comes through Moses, through the Prophets and Psalms, through the Gospel and the writings of the Apostles (*Par.* xxiv. 130-138).

II. In the *transepts of the lower church* we find the **history of the life of Christ.** These paintings may be regarded as an illustration of the Creed. No. 1 (Plan VIII.) shows the Conception by the Holy Ghost. Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 (Plan VIII.), figure the various scenes connected with the Nativity. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 (Plan IX.), deal with the Suffering under Pontius Pilate. No. 7 represents the Crucifixion, No. 11 the Descent into Hell, and No. 10 the Resurrection on the third day.

Dante (*Par.* vii. 79-120), writing perhaps a few years later than the time when these frescoes were painted, explains how the Incarnation was the highest manifestation of the justice and mercy of God. Man had been disfranchised by sin. In two ways it was possible that his lost dignity might be recovered. God might grant a free pardon, or man could make satisfaction. But, in the first

case, justice would not have been done, for goodness would not have been made to refill that which sin had emptied. In the second, it was impossible for man to make satisfaction, inasmuch as he could never fall so low in humility as he had striven to rise in pride. The Incarnation answers all the ends of justice, for goodness takes the place of evil. It also is the highest evidence of mercy, for in no other way could God so fully show His love as by giving Himself, so that in His person man might make satisfaction.

It was the loving self-sacrifice, the poverty, the renunciation, the suffering, and the submission to the Divine will exhibited in this life, that S. Francis tried to make the rule of his own life.

III. *The chapels of the lower church* have been covered with paintings setting forth the acts of S. Mary Magdalene, S. Stephen, S. Lawrence, S. Catherine, S. Nicholas, and S. Martin, all of them **examples of the Franciscan virtues.**

The mediæval history of **S. Mary Magdalene** is confused with that of Mary, the sister of Lazarus, and with various legends. She remains, however, the great example of the efficacy of contrition, confession, and penance.

S. Stephen was probably honoured, not only as the first martyr, but as one of the first deacons, to whom the care of the poor was confided by the early Church.

S. Lawrence, also a deacon, gave all the treasure that had fallen into the hands of the Church to the poor, whom he sought out night and day. When the treasure was demanded of him, he presented the poor people, saying, "These be the eternal treasure; the hands of these have borne the treasure of heaven."

S. Catherine of Alexandria, though she was born queen of her country and was instructed in all liberal arts, despised the things of this life and gave herself wholly to the Lord Jesus Christ, and so she was mystically united in marriage to Him, even as S. Francis was united to Holy Poverty.

S. Nicholas, according to legend, fasted even as an infant, and when he inherited his father's wealth he gave it away.

S. Martin, as a youth, renounced the world, and even before he left the service of the Emperor his charity moved him to share his cloak with a beggar. He renounced not only the world but all its allurements, so that when straw was laid for his bed he threw it away and slept on the ground.

These men and women were moved by a humility that knew no shame except in the presence of a humility deeper than their own, by a love of their neighbours without any limit, especially for the poor and the sick, by a love of God that made submission to His will the highest joy.

IV. The distinctively **Franciscan pictures** consist mainly of the four great *frescoes over the high altar in the lower church,* and of the series representing the life of S. Francis *in the nave of the upper church.*

Besides these, there are some unimportant pictures in the Chapel of S. Anthony of Padua, and the almost invisible pictures in the nave of the lower church.

The Ideal of S. Francis

The frescoes over *the high altar in the lower church,* representing **Poverty, Chastity,** and **Obedience,** express the ideal of S. Francis. The fourth fresco of the glorification of the saint, represents the Divine recognition of this ideal.

The imitation of the life of Christ, which was the aim of S. Francis, does not differ from the nominal aim of all Christians before his time and since. His distinction lies in the method of reaching it, and in the single-minded devotion with which the method was followed.

S. Francis saw in the sojourn of Christ on earth an ideal which he described as **Holy Poverty.** It is in the exercise of this, and not in formal faith and ceremonial observance, that the true relations of life become clear. When it is no longer possible to covet, when life ceases to be a struggle for material prosperity, and when pre-eminence means the most absolute humility, it becomes natural that love should grow between man and man.

The ideal of Holy Poverty implies more than a scheme of living without ownership of property. It is an ideal in which a man gives up not only lands and houses, he must also make the sacrifice of all material desires. More than that, he must give up the exercise of his intellect and his will, in the sense that they ought to be used only in submission to the will of another.

Spiritual freedom is gained when that which we have is "prepared by Divine Providence, as is manifest in the bread received in alms," when we have divested the mind of all material desires by the exercise of holy chastity, and when we have submitted the intellect and the will to the guidance of another in holy obedience.

When body and soul alike have been emptied of self, then may be reached that state of contemplation which is the mediæval ideal of beatitude. In this condition man can perceive something of the truth regarding the Divine attributes, and from this there proceeds the love of God. He can also perceive the Divine order in Creation, so that all nature is included in the love of one who has reached the power of contemplation through the exercise of Holy Poverty.

The **life of S. Francis** is painted *in the nave of the upper church*. This series of frescoes is a summing up of the intention of the whole monument. We have seen how God deals with men; we have seen the description of the life of Christ, by means of which men entered into their true relation with the Divine; we have seen how by lives of faith, of renunciation, and of love, men have striven to unite the world in the new ideal. The final result of human effort is summed up in the life of S. Francis, who was, in the words of his disciples, the Mirror of Perfection.

It must be confessed that we see "the little poor Man of Assisi" dimly in the magnificence of this building. These pictures describe the outward and visible life of one of the two princes ordained for the guidance of the Church (*Par.* xi. 35-36). We seem to breathe the air of the papal court rather than that of the Umbrian valleys.

Conformity of the Life of S. Francis with that of Christ

His disciples regarded the life of S. Francis as the most complete reflection, that we have been permitted to know, of the life which Christ led upon earth. The following instances where the parallel has been drawn may be noted; others will occur to those who keep this phase of the Franciscan ideal in mind.

1. *Above the entrance door of the lower church* the arches are filled with panels. On one is carved the Ascension of Christ with a group of disciples below, on the other there is the Ascension of S. Francis with a like group of disciples.

2. The pictures *on the nave walls of the lower church* were probably intended to point to the parallel between the two lives. On the R. as we face the high altar there appear to be scenes from the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and the Entombment of Christ. On the L. S. Francis renounces the world; is seen in a vision supporting the Church; preaches to the birds; receives the stigmata; and is buried.

3. *In the left transept of the lower church* the Crucifixion has opposite to it S. Francis receiving the stigmata, the intention being to suggest the parallel between the Passion of Christ and the passion of S. Francis on Monte della Vernia.

4. In the central group on the *roof of the upper church* Christ is painted with S. Francis opposite, and at the sides are Madonna and S. John the Baptist.

5. The lower church had originally only three altars: the high altar dedicated in the name of S. Francis, whose bones rest beneath it; that to the R., in the southern transept, dedicated in the name of Maria Virgine Immacolata, and that to the L. in the name of S. John the Evangelist. If the church be considered as the cross, then the relative position of the altars suggests that S. Francis

takes the place of Christ, while Madonna and S. John the Evangelist stand at the foot of the cross as usual.

6. *Over the high altar in the lower church* Christ presides over the marriage of S. Francis with the Holy Lady Poverty. Poverty, the spouse of Christ, was widowed at His death on the cross, and now she becomes the spouse of S. Francis.

THE CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO.

The Lower Church

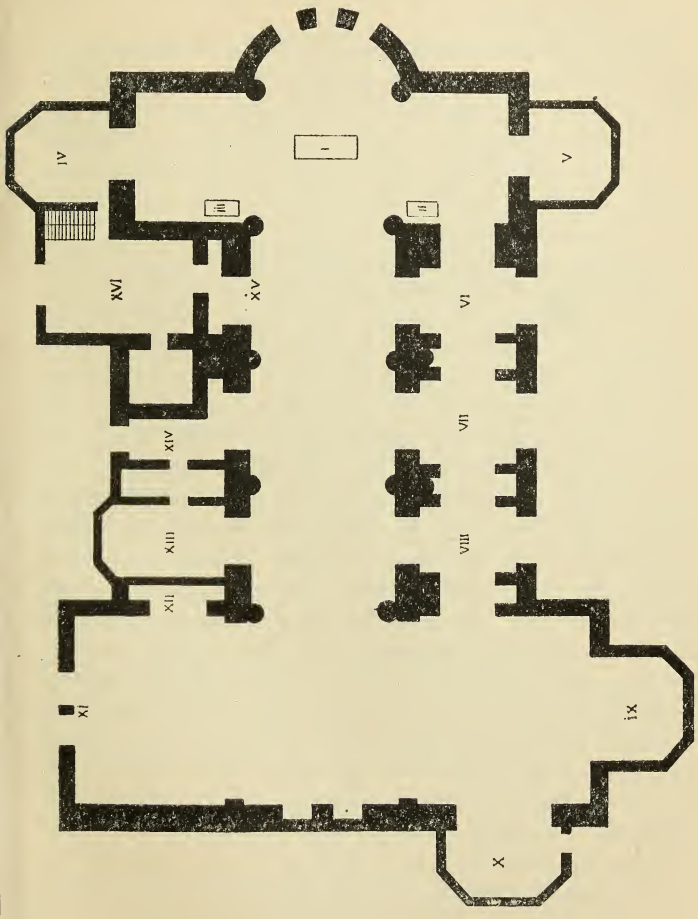
The visitor enters the lower church by the doorway of 1478 (XI. on Plan II.). On the vault of the arch overhead there is a worthless picture of S. Francis in Glory. The significant part of the legend attached to it may be rendered : " Stay thy steps to rejoice, O traveller. Now thou drawest near to the hill of Paradise. This is the glorious Basilica dedicated to the divine Francis of Assisi, the restorer of the falling Church of Christ."

The plan of the lower church is complicated, and the traveller will save time if he studies the ground plan before he begins to examine the detail.

Passing into **the nave,** the first chapel to the L. is that of S. Martin (XIII. on Plan II.). The first to the R., that of S. Louis the King, or S. Stephen (VIII. on the plan). The second chapel to the L. is that of S. Peter of Alcantara (XIV. on the plan). The second chapel to the R. is that of S. Anthony of Padua (VII. on the plan). The pulpit (XV. on the plan) occupies the next bay to the L. The third chapel to the R. is that of S. Mary Magdalene (VI. on the plan).

We next pass into **the transepts,** in the centre of which (I. on the plan) stands the high altar. Turning to the R. into the R. transept there is the altar originally dedicated to Maria Virgine Immacolata (II. on the plan). Behind it five of the first disciples of S. Francis are buried. **The right transept** is closed by the Chapel of S. Nicholas

or the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament (V. on the plan). Returning to the high altar, pass into **the left**



Plan II.—Ground Plan of the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

transept, where there is the altar originally dedicated

to S. John the Evangelist (III. on the plan). Behind it are buried five of the early disciples. Near to this altar is the entrance to the sacristy, and the stair which leads to the upper church.

In the following description, the visitor is supposed to begin with the monuments on the R. wall of the atrium: pass through the chapels of the R. nave, pass round the R. transept, under the vault, through the L. transept to the sacristies, down the L. nave to the Chapel of S. Martin. Return up the centre nave to see the frescoes, and if desired descend to the crypt. Pass through the L. transept and ascend by the stairway to the upper church.

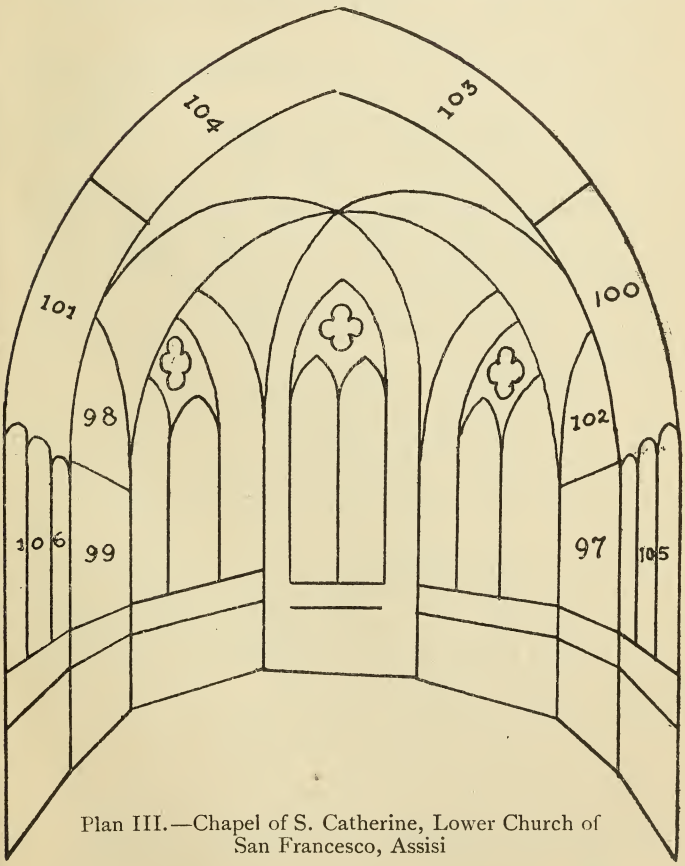
The Atrium.—On entering turn to the R. The first monument is supposed to be one erected by the Florentine family of the Cerchi. The sarcophagus is supported by five richly carved corbels, the front is decorated with interlaced arcading of elaborate design, the shields bear three rings. Above, a cusped and crocketed canopy is carried by twisted shafts; the vase which stands on the tomb is said to have been filled with gold and silver and sent as an offering by the Queen of Cyprus. The date attributed to the monument by Sig. Venturi is the last half of the thirteenth century. Beyond there is a large platform pulpit. Next to this is the monument which has been generally supposed to be that of the Queen of Cyprus, others think it is the tomb of Jolande, wife of Frederick II., who died in 1228. The design is assigned by Sig. Venturi to the fourteenth century. In the upper part under the canopy are the sculptured figures of Madonna and Child and a woman standing on a lion; the general effect is not pleasing. Beyond is the Chapel of S. Antonio Abbate with the tombs of a Duke of Spoleto and his son.

The cloister used as the burial-place for the brethren is entered from the chapel; in the centre are tall cypress-trees. The cloister has two stories, the lower with circular arches springing from octagonal brick piers; it dates from 1478.

At the end of the atrium is the

Chapel of S. Catherine or Cappella del Crocefisso

This chapel is the burial-place of Cardinal Egidio



Plan III.—Chapel of S. Catherine, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

Albornoz, who died in 1367. The frescoes are in very bad condition.

(Plan III.) No. 97. Probably refers to the story of

how **S. Catherine** was led to go out from Alexandria into the desert, and was there mystically married to Christ.

No. 98. When the Emperor Maxentius came to Alexandria Christians were condemned to death. S. Catherine appeared before the Emperor and argued with him. He sent for wise men to convince Catherine, and she converted them to Christianity.

No. 99. The wise men are condemned, bound, and cast into the fire.

No. 100. S. Catherine cast into prison. The Queen and Porphyry visit her, and are converted.

No. 101. The Emperor found that Catherine had suffered nothing from starvation while in prison, and in his wrath he ordered two wheels to be made so that they should break all that came between. S. Catherine prayed to God, and an angel destroyed the wheels.

No. 102. The Queen upbraids the Emperor, and declares herself a Christian.

No. 103. The Queen is tortured and beheaded.

No. 104. S. Catherine is beheaded.

No. 105. Bishops Blasius, Eugenius, and S. Louis.

No. 106. S. Francis and two uncertain figures; one of them is supposed to represent the consecration of Cardinal Albornoz.

The figures in **the windows** have not been fully identified.

The central lights contain Madonna and Child, S. Catherine, SS. Agnes and Lucy, and S. Francis and Sta. Chiara.

The frescoes in this chapel were painted by *Andrea da Bologna* and *Pace di Bartolo* of Assisi.

Enter the nave and turn to the R. into the

Chapel of S. Louis the King or of S. Stephen

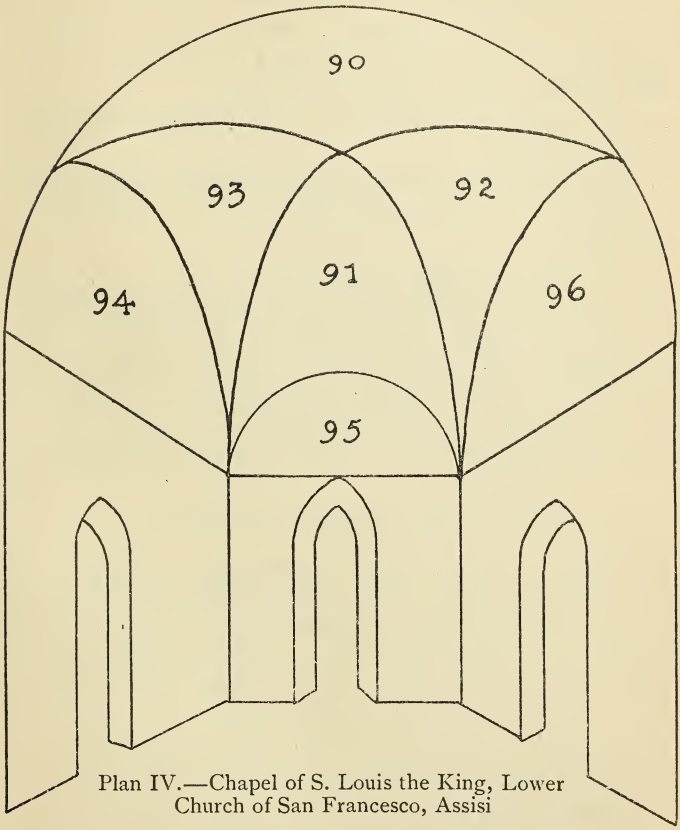
The frescoes on the walls of this chapel are attributed to Dono Doni, 1574-1575. They are of no artistic interest. The frescoes on the roof have been attributed to L'Ingegno.

(Plan IV.) No. 94. The Condemnation of S. Stephen.

No. 95. S. Stephen led away to be stoned.

No. 96. The Stoning.

On the roof, the Prophets and Sibyls are associated in prophesying of Christ.



Plan IV.—Chapel of S. Louis the King, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

No. 90 (*over the window*). Daniel ix. 24. The prophecy referred to is that concerning the seventy weeks. The Sibyl prophesies the birth from a Virgin.

No. 91 (*over the entrance arch*). Jeremiah xxxi. 22—"The Lord hath created a new thing in the earth." Sibyl Tiburtina—"Christ born in Bethlehem."

No. 92. Micah v. 2—" But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah." Sibyl Persica—" The invisible word is seen and touched."

No. 93. Psalm xvi. 10—" Neither wilt Thou suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption." Cumean Sibyl—" After having been in the tomb for three days He will arise."

The window has four lights. To the L.—

1. The Angel of S. Matthew, S. Louis the Archbishop, S. Louis the King.

2. The Eagle of S. John, Christ in blessing, S. Francis.

3. The Ox of S. Luke, the Virgin Crowned, Franciscan Saint (?).

4. The Lion of S. Mark, a Queen.

This chapel was founded by Cardinal Gentile da Montefiore (also the founder of the Chapel of S. Martin on the opposite side of the nave), who was buried here in 1312.

Between the chapels of S. Anthony and S. Stephen there is a picture of the Martyrdom of S. Lawrence, with S. John the Baptist, and the Bishops Rufinus and Victor.

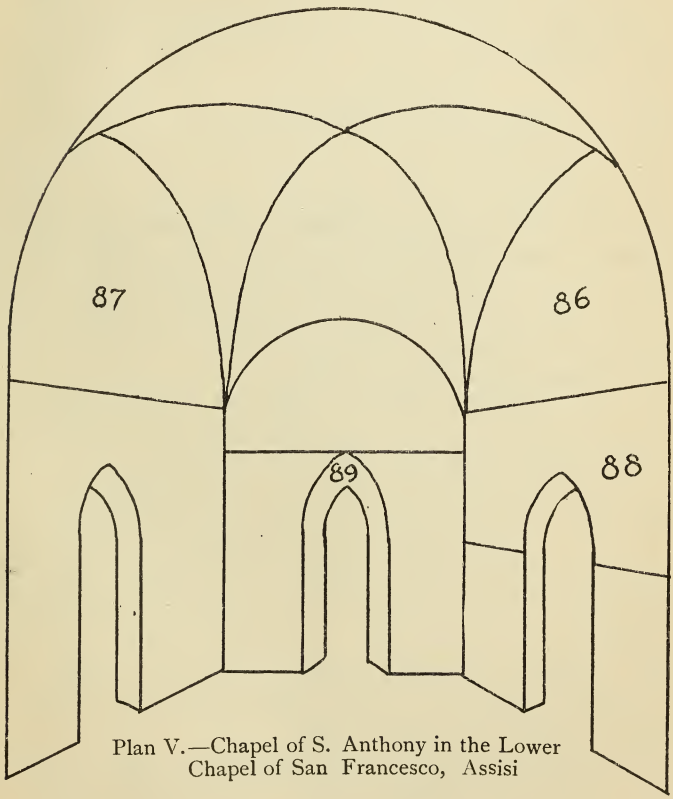
Chapel of S. Anthony of Padua

The frescoes in this chapel were painted in 1609 by *Cesare Sermei* of Orvieto and *Girolamo Martelli* of Assisi, a disciple of Domenichino. If the spectator stands with his back to the window he will have on his R. in the lunette, (Plan V.) No. 86. S. Anthony preaching to Pope Gregory IX.

No. 87. To the L. is the Miracle, worked in Rimini in order that a certain Bovidilla, who did not believe in the Real Presence, might be convinced of its power. Carrying the Host in procession the saints met the mule of the unbeliever. The animal knelt down, though its master tempted it to neglect the presence of the Host by offering it food.

No. 88. Below the " Preaching of S. Anthony " and near the window there are some remains of pictures, probably referring to the story of how the father of S. Anthony,

who lived in Lisbon, was falsely accused of a murder. The saint was in Italy, but in answer to prayer he appeared before the judges and caused the body of the dead man to give evidence, so that his father was cleared of suspicion.



Plan V.—Chapel of S. Anthony in the Lower Chapel of San Francesco, Assisi

The scenes in **the window** relate to the history of the saint. In one of the lights there is a picture of how he preached to the fishes. On the under surface of the entrance arch are the disciples of S. Francis (No. 89).

The Chapel of S. Mary Magdalene

The frescoes in this chapel are among the best in the lower church ; they are worthy of the most careful study, and they should be compared with other examples of the best Florentine fourteenth-century painting. The frescoes are concerned with the mediæval account of the life of S. Mary Magdalene.

On the roof of the chapel—

(Plan VI., p. 170) No. 71. Christ.

No. 72. Lazarus.

No. 73. Martha.

No. 74. Mary.

(On the walls.) No. 75. **Christ in the house of the Pharisee.** Mary Magdalene anoints the feet of Christ. Christ and two disciples sit at table with the Pharisee and a guest. The contrast between the dignified Christ and the resentful air of the Jews is striking. Painted by *Giotto* with the help of an assistant.

No. 76. **Raising of Lazarus.** This is one of the great pictures in early Tuscan art. It is an instance of how the best Florentines could deal with the deepest mysteries of life in the most impressive manner, and yet bring them within the range of average mankind by the subtle perception of the human element, which lies hidden in the impenetrable enigma of the universe. The painter makes us feel that we are in presence of infinite power, and that we share in its manifestation. Painted by *Giotto*.

No. 77. **Noli me tangere.** Mary kneels before Christ ; she obeys the command, but she reaches forward in loving anxiety. Painted by *Giotto* in part.

The mediæval life of S. Mary Magdalene goes on to relate how she, her brother Lazarus, Martha, and other Christians were sent to sea in a rudderless boat. They were, however, guided by God, and they landed at Marseilles. The prince and princess of the country heard the preaching of Mary, and offered to believe, if she would obtain the grace of a son for them.

They set out to Palestine to learn of S. Peter. On the way the child was born, and the princess died. The child was laid beside her on a rocky island, and the prince went on to Jerusalem, and was taught by S. Peter for two years. On his return they found the child alive, and the princess also revived.

The following pictures are, in the opinion of competent authority, mainly by *Giotto,* while others attribute them to assistants :—

No. 78. In this fresco two angels guide the boat towards Marseilles, and there is also an indication of the return of the ship with the prince from Palestine.

No. 79. S. Mary Magdalene, in order to enjoy holy contemplation, retired to the desert, and dwelt in a cave for thirty years. Angels raised her up daily into the air, and she was fed with celestial food.

No. 80. A priest who had become a hermit saw this, and when he was permitted to speak with her she bade him warn S. Maximin that she was coming to receive communion before her death.

No. 81. S. Mary Magdalene receives the communion from S. Maximin. The saint kneels before the bishop, who stands at the altar. She died where she knelt, and her soul went up to the Lord borne by four angels. This vision of the translation is particularly fine.

No. 82. Bishop Pontano kisses the hand of S. Mary Magdalene.

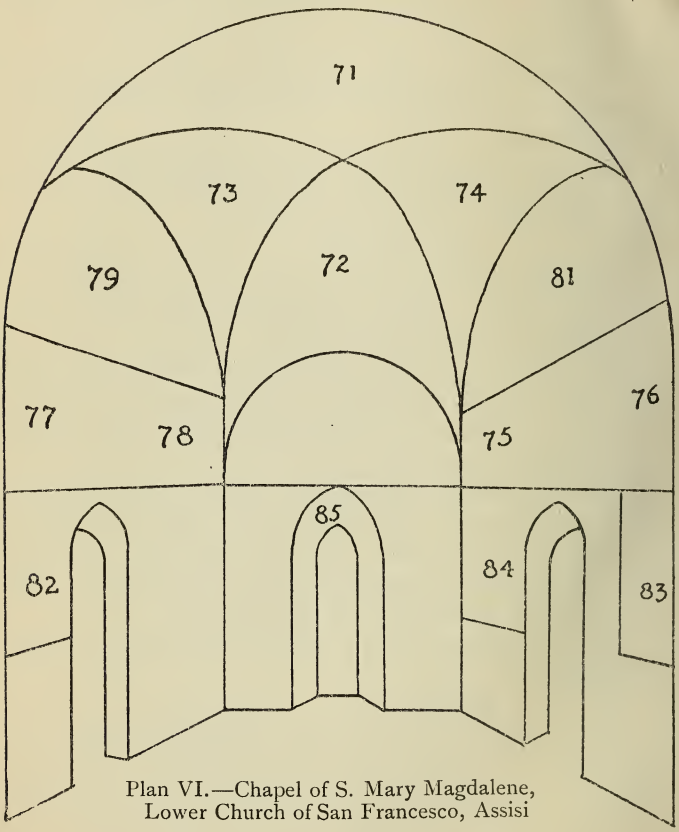
No. 83. S. Martha.

No. 84. Bishop Pontano kneels before S. Rufino. The figures on the under surface of the entrance to the chapel can hardly be distinguished. At the top of the arch there is what seems to be a figure of Christ in the form of the Sun of Righteousness. There are also SS. Catherine and Agatha, SS. Andrew and George, SS. Matthew and Peter, SS. Paul and Nicholas ; Paul the Hermit and Anthony the Abbot with SS. Agnes and Rosa.

There are four lights in the **window.** To the

1. Christ, S. Mary Magdalene, and two other doubtful figures.

2. Madonna and Child, S. Mary Magdalene in prayer,



Plan VI.—Chapel of S. Mary Magdalene, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

S. Mary Magdalene receives a garment from an angel (?), S. Mary Magdalene receives the Sacrament (?).

3. Noli me tangere, Christ and S. Mary Magdalene; two other doubtful subjects.

4. Christ in the house of the Pharisee, the Raising of

Photograph: Alinari

DETAIL FROM THE LAST SUPPER

(By Giotto. Arena Chapel, Padua)

Compare with the "Raising of Lazarus" in the Chapel of S. Mary Magdalen at Assisi

Lazarus, Martha and Mary kneel before Christ, S. Mary Magdalene anoints the feet of Christ.

Chapel of S. Nicholas.—The Chapel of S. Nicholas or Chapel of the Holy Sacrament is at the end of the R. transept. This chapel is connected with the memory of two cardinals of the Orsini family, Napoleone and Giovanni Gaetano. On the under side of the entrance arch they are presented to Christ by SS. Francis and Nicholas. The tomb of one of the brothers is still in the chapel and near it is an inscription implying that it is the tomb of Gaetano. It has, however, frequently been described as that of Napoleone. A second tomb was prepared in the Chapel of S. John Baptist at the end of the L. transept, but apparently it was never finished. It seems most probable that this was intended for Napoleone. The frescoes in the chapel are gay and harmonious in colour; the stories are told in a simple straightforward way. They are generally ascribed to one of the disciples or assistants of Giotto.

(Plan VII., p. 172) No. 59. A series of Apostles; ten only now remain.

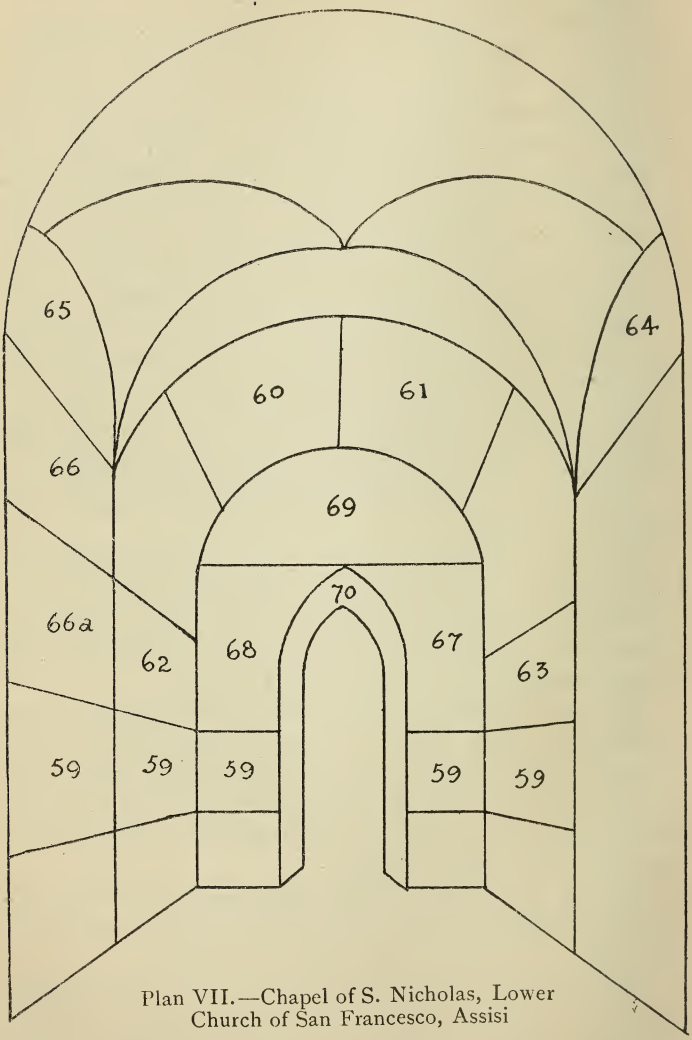
No. 60. S. Nicholas, desiring to give away the riches left by his father, and hearing that a nobleman, unable to give marriage portions to his daughters, was about to abandon them to an evil life, went by night and threw gold into the house, so that there was a portion for each.

No. 61. S. Nicholas, finding that a consul had corruptly condemned three youths to death, took with him three princes of the Emperor, who happened to have been driven into port by the wind, and seizing the sword with which the executioner was about to kill the youths, he unbound them and took them away in safety.

No. 62. S. Nicholas having reproved the consul for his corrupt judgment forgives him at the entreaty of the three princes. This is one of the best of the series.

No. 63. The three princes having fallen out of favour with the Emperor they are imprisoned, and one of them remembering S. Nicholas, they all prayed to him. In the night the saint appeared to the Emperor Constantine,

causing him so much fear that he examined the prisoners.



Plan VII.—Chapel of S. Nicholas, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

When they had told him of the life of S. Nicholas he bade

them to ask for the prayers of the saint for himself and his country, and set them free.

No. 64. A Jew hearing of the power of S. Nicholas set up his image and gave his goods to the keeping of the saint. He was robbed of everything except the image. Then the Jew beat it and abused it. S. Nicholas appearing to the thieves, caused them to restore what they had taken, and both the thieves and the Jew were converted to the truth.

No. 65. A man who observed the feast of S. Nicholas every year was busy making ready for it when the devil appeared as a pilgrim. The man bade his son give alms, and the pilgrim, when followed by the child, seized and strangled him. The father upbraided S. Nicholas and prayed to him, and the child came to life again.

No. 66. A rich man had a son granted to him through the intercession of S. Nicholas. The boy was captured by a pagan king, and was caused to serve him. On the feast of the saint the boy, remembering the annual celebration in his father's house, was sorrowful, and when the king knew the cause he defied the saint, and said the boy should continue to serve him. Suddenly a strong wind carried up the child, and set him down at his father's house.

No. 66a. The parents of the child receive him with great joy.

No. 67. S. John the Baptist.

No. 68. Probably S. Mary Magdalene.

No. 69. A figure of Christ, to whom S. Francis and S. Nicholas present the two Orsini Cardinals.

No. 70. On the *under surface of the entrance arch* there are twelve saints—

SS. Rufinus and Nicholas.

SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua.

SS. Sabinus and Victorinus.

SS. George and Albinus.

S. Chiara and a Queen.

SS. Agnes and Cecilia.

There are **three windows** with two lights each.

To the L., SS. Vincentius and Francis, SS. Augustine and Adrianus (?), SS. Victorinus and Rufinus. In the centre, Christ and S. Francis, SS. Gregory (?) and Nicholas. To the R., SS. Stephen and Lorenzo, SS. Francis and Anthony, SS. Jerome and Gregory.

Frescoes in the Right Transept of the Lower Church

(Plan VIII., p. 176) No. 1. **Annunciation.**

No. 2. **Salutation,** a characteristic piece of early fourteenth-century Florentine design. There is a fine sense of a mountain country in the background. The two women meet with a quiet joy, each knows the destiny of the other, and the deference of the older woman for the younger is rendered in simple and yet subtle fashion. The servants carrying the little necessities for the way mark the growing taste for expressing thought and emotion in terms of common life.

No. 3. **Nativity.** Madonna looks tenderly at the swaddled Babe in her arms. The usual Byzantine design puts the Babe in the manger, and leaves the Mother unconcerned. The ox and the ass have an expression of lively interest in the Child, and overhead two choirs of six angels float in adoration and prayer. Rays of divine power come down from heaven and rest on the Child. Over the roof of the shed other choirs of angels see the star, and one of them flies down and announces the birth to the shepherds. In the foreground the Byzantine tradition of the washing of the Babe is followed. Joseph sits at the extreme left, resting his head on his hand. There is a note of naturalism throughout.

No. 4. **The Presentation.** This is one of the most famous of these frescoes. The Temple is an elaborate Gothic church decorated with mosaic in the Cosmati style. Every figure in the picture, young and old, takes its part in expressing the mystery, by which the thoughts out of many hearts were to be revealed, and yet no picture

in Italian art is more remarkable for the simple rendering of maternal affection.

No. 5. **Adoration of the Magi.** The Mother and Child sit in an open loggia; they are attended by two nimbed figures. The older of the three kings kneels and receives the blessing of the Child, the other two kings look on at some distance; all three are nimbed. Their long journey is suggested by the heads of two camels which appear at one side of the picture.

No. 6. **Flight into Egypt.** There is a striking desert landscape. Joseph has something of the air and bearing of an ancient Roman. An angel in the sky shows the way.

No. 7. **Slaughter of the Innocents.** Herod, in his impassive attitude, is the strong feature of this picture. The action is extravagant and the intensity of suffering is poorly rendered.

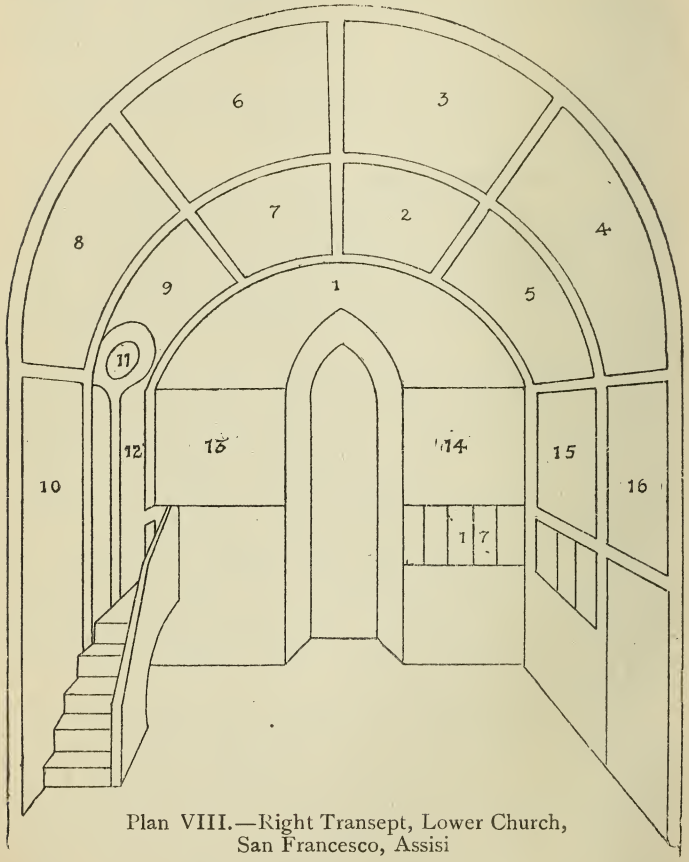
No. 8. **Christ among the Doctors.** This is an impressive design. The Child seated in the centre in calm rule draws the attention and holds it. The scene is in a Gothic church with side chapels. Joseph and Mary enter to the left, and hold up their hands in wonder as they see their son teaching with authority among the patriarchs of the nation.

No. 9. **Christ goes with his Parents.** Jerusalem is painted as a fourteenth-century city. Mary and Joseph pass out into the country. Christ has become the child again; he looks up at Joseph with confidence and just touches the sleeve of his robe.

No. 10. **Resurrection of a Child.** A mother desiring to go to church left a child, seven years of age, shut up in her house. It fell from a window and died. The mother on her return began to weep, so that a crowd was gathered. A certain Brother Rano asking the father of the child whether he believed in S. Francis, the father answered, Yes; and if he (S. Francis) would do him the grace to revive the child he would ever be his devout servant. Then the whole company began to pray, and the child rose to life.

No. 11. Over the door from the R. transept into the

monastery there is a fresco of **Christ.** To correspond with it there is a similar fresco of **S. Francis** (No. 13) over the door from the L. transept.



Plan VIII.—Right Transept, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi

No. 12. **S. Francis and a Skeleton.** This life and its accidents were to the mind of S. Francis of little importance. Death comes to all men alike—to the king, whose crowned skeleton mocks his earthly greatness, and to the common man. It becomes, therefore, a symbol of the

Photograph: Brogi

MADONNA AND CHILD

(By Guido da Siena. In the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena)

Compare with Madonna and Child in the right transept of the Lower Church, Assisi

equality of all men in the sight of God. We are in presence of the two obligations of humanity. S. Francis stands for that which ought to be the common lot, the life of Holy Poverty, the ideal of the perfection of Christ. Death comes as the common lot by which all may pass from the shadows of this life to the realities of the next.

Nos. 13 and 14 probably refer to the story of **a miracle** worked in the city of Suessa. A house fell and killed a boy. The people raised the body from among the ruins, and the mother, who had faith in S. Francis, began to cry, "S. Francis, I pray thee give me back my son alive, and I will cover thy altar with new cloth." And thus they remained till midnight, when the boy arose and "began to praise God and S. Francis."

No. 13 shows how the people recovered the body from the ruins of the fallen house. The figure of a man standing with his finger touching his chin is supposed to be a portrait of Giotto.

No. 14. The clergy and people have gathered for the funeral. In an open loggia, in the upper part of the picture, S. Francis descends from the sky, and, taking the boy by the hand, brings him to life.

No. 15. In the R. transept. This picture of the Crucifixion is symbolical; it is not intended to represent the event as it happened. There are no thieves, and on the R. side of the cross S. Francis kneels with two of his brethren. S. Mary Magdalene embraces the feet of Christ. To the L., Mary falls in a swoon. There is a notable group of Jews to the R. of the picture. A small medallion in the frame at the top has a figure of the pelican, in reference to Ps. cii. 6. One of the popular stories about this bird was, that the young strike their father and he kills them; then the mother pierces her breast, and the blood which flows from it brings the young birds to life again. "If this be true," says Augustine, "see how it agreeth with Him who gave us life by His blood." At the bottom of the picture is a similar little painting of the lion licking its cubs, in reference to the story that the cubs were born

dead, and were brought to life after three days by the father licking them. In this was seen a type of the Resurrection after the three days in the tomb.

The foregoing pictures in the R. transept are generally attributed to one or other of the scholars or disciples who are supposed to have assisted Giotto.

No. 16. **Madonna and Child with Angels and S. Francis.** This famous picture has traditionally been assigned to *Cimabue.*

It represents the transition from Byzantine to Florentine ideals. The celestial powers reveal to man the Divine Child. The grand sweep of the angels' wings, the graceful inclination of their forms and the reverent graciousness of their expression strike the active note in the picture. Madonna is passive ; she has lost the abstract quality of the Mother of God, and has not gained the natural quality of the mother of a human child. The heavily coiled hair of the angels, the veil and robe of the Madonna, and many other details, show the effect of the Byzantine tradition. The ordered magnificence of the throne, the rich hangings, and the splendour of the celestial spirits are in strange contrast to S. Francis, the humble follower of Holy Poverty, who stands at the R. of the picture. The insignificant figure of the " little poor man of Assisi," standing apart as it does from the general design, does not at first suggest the doctors and saints of fifteenth and sixteenth century altar-pieces, and yet it may be regarded as an early example of such schemes. This picture is one of the most interesting in the whole range of Italian art. To the student of style it marks with peculiar delicacy the change of manner ; to those who study the mind of the thirteenth century it is full of suggestion ; to all it remains one of the most lovely creations of human genius.

No. 17. A series of **eight half-lengths.** To the R., Madonna and Child, with a king on the one side and a queen on the other—probably S. Louis and S. Catherine of Alexandria. To the extreme L. is S. Francis, and between these the frescoes probably represent S. John the

Photograph: Brogi

S. AGNES AND GABRIEL

(From the "Maesta" of Simone Martini in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena)

Compare with the half length figures in the right transept of the Lower Church, Assisi

Evangelist, Sta. Chiara, S. Elizabeth of Hungary, and S. Louis the Archbishop. S. Louis the King was the patron of the Brothers, and S. Elizabeth of Hungary was the patroness of the Sisters of the Third Order. The work has been attributed to *Simone Martini* of Siena (1285 ?-1344). These half-lengths are charming and peculiarly characteristic works of the Sienese school at its best, and as they are close to the scenes of the " Nativity " and " Presentation," and other Florentine works of the same period and of equally fine quality, there is an opportunity for the traveller to compare the two great branches of Tuscan art at its most interesting period.

The Vault over the High Altar

The frescoes are now generally attributed to followers of Giotto.

(Plan XI., p. 196) No. 32 represents the **Mystical Marriage of S. Francis with the Holy Lady Poverty,** she who when " Mary stayed below, mounted the Cross with Christ " (Wicksteed's translation, *Par.* xi. 71-72). The scene is laid on a bare rock. Christ stands between the pair holding the arm of Poverty, while S. Francis puts a ring on her finger; to the L. of Poverty stands Hope and Charity.

On a ledge of the rock below are two undersized figures; the one casts a stone at Poverty, the other points with a stick, and a dog barks—for to her, as to death, no one opens the gate willingly (*Par.* xi. 59-60).

At the lower corners of the picture are groups showing how men make right and wrong judgments as to what is the real good. To the spectator's L. a youth, moved by charity, gives his robe to a beggar. To the R. there is a group of three men; one has nothing to indicate his tendency, the others have chosen the gathering of wealth and the pleasures of the senses as their aim. On each side of the central figures are groups of angels, and in the apex the Father Eternal looks down on the scene.

Mr Ruskin says that the thorns which are gathered

round the feet of Lady Poverty are those of the Acacia, from which the crown of thorns was made. The roses and the lilies which spring up behind her are symbols of love and purity. Charity has a garland of flowers, and the warmth of her love is figured by the flames which encircle her head. She has a circular nimbus, like Christ, the angels, and S. Francis, while Poverty and Hope have each a hexagonal nimbus. The circle was considered a more perfect form than the square or the hexagonal. The square nimbus was usually reserved for living persons—the hexagonal for the virtues, while the circular nimbus was the figure of the eternal and everlasting condition. Charity has the circular form, as it is the universal passion, neither Creator nor creature was ever without it (*Purg.* xvii. 91), and the principle of love "tends to God as the principle of happiness" (Gardner, "Ten Heavens," p. 183).

Two angels rise up towards heaven, the one bears a church with a walled garden. This fair building, with its garden full of fresh green and beautiful foliage, is a figure of the new vigour and force in the Church, springing from the freedom of spirit gained by putting away the hindrances which choke the true life of the soul. The other angel offers up a purse and a garment, probably to signify that the things which have been received from the goodness of God should be offered in His service.

The scene in which the young Francis renounced his family and his heritage, and gave up even the clothes he wore, here receives its mystical interpretation. When the brethren asked him what virtue made a man most the friend of Christ, he answered: "Know, brothers, that Poverty is the special way for Salvation, because she is humility and the root of Perfection. . . . And if any man wishes to ascend to the height of Perfection he must renounce worldly wisdom and knowledge of letters, that is to say, if he is to get gain of it. For if he is freed from all such worldly powers and possessions he may enter into the power of God, and offer himself naked to the arms of Christ. It cannot be said that a man has renounced all,

if he has reserved something of his own prudence or understanding."

No. 33. **Holy Chastity** is personified by a young woman who is seen in prayer in the tower of a strong castle. The building is on a bare rock, and is surrounded by walls and towers in the usual fashion.

Two angels float round about the tower, and offer a palm and a crown to Chastity.

The central scene outside the castle walls is purification by baptism of a young man ; an angel lays a hand on his head, and another pours water over it. To the R., two angels hold clothing ready for him, probably the habit of the order. Purity and Fortitude lean over the castle wall, the one with a banner and the other with a shield, so that the newly baptised one may be made ready to join the soldiery of the heavenly kingdom. The outward purification of the body by water is the symbol of that inward purification of the soul which springs from the renunciation implied in the Franciscan ideal of Poverty. When pride of intellect, self-assertion, ambition, avarice, and love of luxury, have been driven out by the love of Holy Poverty then is there true purification alike of body and soul.

Returning to the picture, three figures on the L. eagerly climb the rocky slope, and stretch upwards towards S. Francis ; he takes the hand of one of them, who is a monk. An angel holds out a cross, and a nun reaches towards it to clasp it in her hand. The monk and nun have been called Bernard of Quintevalle and Sta. Chiara ; the layman is supposed to represent the third order. On the other side of the fresco there is a contest with the vices. " Amor " and two other personifications of disorder are being forced over the edge of the rock. A cowled and winged figure of Penitence lays her lash on the back of " Amor," and an angel thrusts at him with a spear. Another angel with cross and shield stands in an attitude of defence. Death as a skeleton forces an evil spirit down into the abyss.

Another important element of the picture is the placing of guardians on each of the three sides of the castle. They

have circular nimbuses and wings. Those that can be fully seen in the front have shields, and two of them bear scourges—they are the ministers of Penitence and defenders of the Castle of Chastity. They are also doubtless ministers of God, the swords and shields suggesting that they belong to the order of the Principalities.

A certain brother on one occasion said to Brother Egidio, " You who so commend the virtue of chastity, tell me what it is ? " " Brother," answered Egidio, " I tell thee, that properly, chastity is the anxious custodian and continual guardian of the corporal and spiritual senses, preserving them pure and immaculate for God alone."

Holy Obedience is the subject of the fresco No. 34. The sanction for this quality is found in the Crucified Christ, partially visible behind the figure of Obedience. Man is subject to various temptations on his way towards the true goal of life. The pleasure in riches and other material well-being, and the pleasure in the beauty and capacity of the body, may both be subdued and yet man is not free from danger.

Unless the will is brought into subjection, there can be no right rule of life, for it is by the will (that is, by the union of desire and reason) that the use of our capacities is regulated. Hence, if they are to be turned to the best purpose, man must be stripped of his self-will so that temptation may be put away from him.

This submission of the will is represented by Holy Obedience, who sits in the centre of the picture, laying her hand upon the yoke, which a monk who kneels before her holds in his hands. She lays a finger on her mouth to forbid speech, for in silence we may best study that which is in the heart. To the L. sits Prudence with two faces, one old, the other young, a figure of the memory of things past, and an understanding of things present, from which springs a foresight of that which is to come. Prudence is the quality which leads a man to a " right estimate of the best interests of life."

In order that this power of estimating may be gained,

there must be experience and a broad outlook over life regarded as a whole. Hence Prudence holds a looking-glass, in which the kneeling monk, when he turns his head, may see reflected therein the past and present, as it were, so that he may guide himself aright in the future.

The compasses she holds symbolise the measure in all things by which a man exercises moderation and attains to calmness of soul.

Besides the looking-glass and the compasses, Prudence has an astronomical instrument, explaining the method of the ruling of the heavens, used here as a symbol of the ruling which Prudence exercises in the life of man.

Opposite to Prudence, and to the R. of Obedience, is seated Humility. This is the quality which most easily opens the mind to the influence of celestial as opposed to terrestrial things. It is the most efficient means of putting aside all that which hinders the spiritual life. In the exercise of it, man makes free progress towards the Divine. Humility is a state implying an absence of all presumption, and in this simplicity, virtue gives a clear and bright light, which is symbolised by the candle she has in her hand.

He who by Prudence forms a true conception of the right aim in life, and who through Humility is saved from the temptations which beset the soul, is fitted to submit his will to the yoke of subjection. If he is moved to bear the yoke by the spirit of Charity then he will rise to heaven by Holy Obedience—this is signified by the wings which she bears.

Below the figure of Prudence two novices are led towards Holy Obedience by an angel. On the other side, below Humility, is a centaur ; he has the body of a man, the fore-feet of a horse, and the hind feet of a beast of prey. This creature of mixed nature is significant of the man in whom reason no longer holds sway over the lower nature. An angel points to Holy Obedience as a means of reconciliation, only to produce disgust and aversion in a being so disordered and misruled.

Obedience, Prudence, and Humility sit in an open loggia ;

at each side there is a company of kneeling angels, and above we see S. Francis attended by two kneeling angels. He is drawn up to heaven by cords ; he has in his left hand a cross, and the marks of the Stigmata are shown.

No. 35. **The Glory of S. Francis.** A certain brother, when travelling with S. Francis, had a vision of a throne set in heaven, and he heard a voice saying, " This seat was Lucifer's who fell through pride, and now it is kept for the humble Francis." The saint sits with a cross in his right hand, and in his left, a book. Over his head is a banner with a cross, and an angel of the order of Seraphim, who " see more of the First Cause than any other angelic nature."

Round about the throne of S. Francis is a company of angels dancing, singing, and making music. Like the spirits that Dante sees in the heaven of the sun, they seem " as ladies not from the dance released, but pausing, silent, listening, till they catch the notes renewed " (Wicksteed's translation, *Par.* x. 79-81). Then again, " the glorious wheel " revolves, and renders " voice to voice in harmony and sweetness that may not be known except where joy maketh itself eternal " (Wicksteed's translation, *Par.* x. 145-148).

Life in its most complete form exists in God, who, while He is Himself unmoved, is the source from whence all motion proceeds. Motion is therefore an expression of the life which man receives from God, and since this life partakes of the nature of God, it finds its most complete development in the desire of the individual to return to its source. This desire is an expression of love, and as its object is to return to God, it is the love of God.

Hence the revolving of the heavens of the angels round the point from which springs life (*Par.* xxviii. 16), the circling of the souls which Dante sees, and the dancing of the angels round the throne of S. Francis is nothing else than an expression of the bond which unites all created things in their love of the Creator. It is in this circuit of motion, of life, and of love, that the soul gains strength to

perceive the final vision of the "Eternal Light who only in Itself abides, only Itself understands, and to Itself turns love and smiling" (Wicksteed's translation, *Par.* xxxiii. 124-126).

This vision of the Eternal is realised in the painting upon the ribs of the vaulting. **In the centre, where the ribs join, is the figure of the Almighty,** and gathered round in circle after circle are figures illustrative of the Apocalyptic vision in parts of the iv. and vi. chapters of Revelation. In the *first circle* there may still be seen the Lamb and the Altar. In the *second circle* (following from rib to rib) are the four living things having the likenesses of a lion, a calf, the face of a man, and an eagle. In the *third circle* are the four riders on the white, the red, the black, and the pale horses. There are also the lamps which signify the Seven Spirits of God.

The angelic host is indicated by figures symbolising the orders of the heavenly hierarchy. Seraphim are nearest the centre, Cherubim, with two faces, come next; then there are figures of the order of Thrones, and other angels, with symbols difficult to recognise, but probably representing the rest of the nine orders. There are also figures representing the four and twenty elders. Although it is now difficult to make a satisfactory identification of the individual members of the whole scheme, there can be little doubt it is intended to represent the vision which was seen by the hundred and forty and four thousand servants of God, who were sealed in their foreheads.

This vision of the Glory of God is the consummation of the whole scheme of the transepts of the lower church. The life of Christ is the example which a man ought to set before him. He who lives under the rule of Holy Poverty, Holy Obedience, and Holy Chastity is following in the footsteps of Christ. To such an one will it be given as it was to Francis to be raised up to enjoy the enlightenment of the everlasting Kingdom, and to perceive "the dispensation of the mystery which from all ages hath been hid in God."

The high altar is of elaborate construction; it is supported on an arcading of pointed and cusped arches carried on small pillars of various design with richly sculptured capitals. The spandrels of the arcading and the face of the arches are richly decorated with gilt and marble mosaic. The table is said to be formed of an immense piece of marble brought from Constantinople, and Pope Innocent IV. consecrated the altar in 1253 in presence of great multitudes of people.

Frescoes in the Left Transept

At present there is a pretty general agreement that the frescoes in the L. transept were painted by *Pietro Lorenzetti* with the help of an assistant.

(Plan IX., p. 188) No. 1. **The Entry into Jerusalem.** The twelve Apostles headed by S. Peter follow Christ; they are met by the crowd at the gate of the city. Boys throw olive branches in the way.

No. 2. **The Last Supper.** The meal is eaten at a circular table, Judas cannot therefore sit on the outer side; he is distinguished by having no nimbus.

No. 3. **The Washing of the Feet.** S. Peter puts his hand to his head, saying, "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head." The Apostles are not so dignified as in the scene of the Entry into Jerusalem.

No. 4. **The Betrayal.** There is not a noble figure in the whole composition. The sense of degradation could hardly be more complete than that conveyed by the flight of the Apostles. It is no band of regular soldiers, but rather a mob that enters the garden. The face of Judas has some quality in it, but that of Christ is not only unseemly, it is ignoble, and the Apostle who stands in the lower right-hand corner is of the most vulgar type.

No. 5. **The Flagellation.** This scene takes place before Pilate. To the R. a group of Pharisees look on with a satisfied air. The central figure is miserably inadequate. There is no attempt made to render a dignified

bearing under degradation and suffering, and the expression even of physical pain fails.

No. 6. **Christ led to Calvary.** Again the central figure is mean and cringing. Distortion of face takes the place of a dignified expression of emotion. The two thieves walk in advance of Christ.

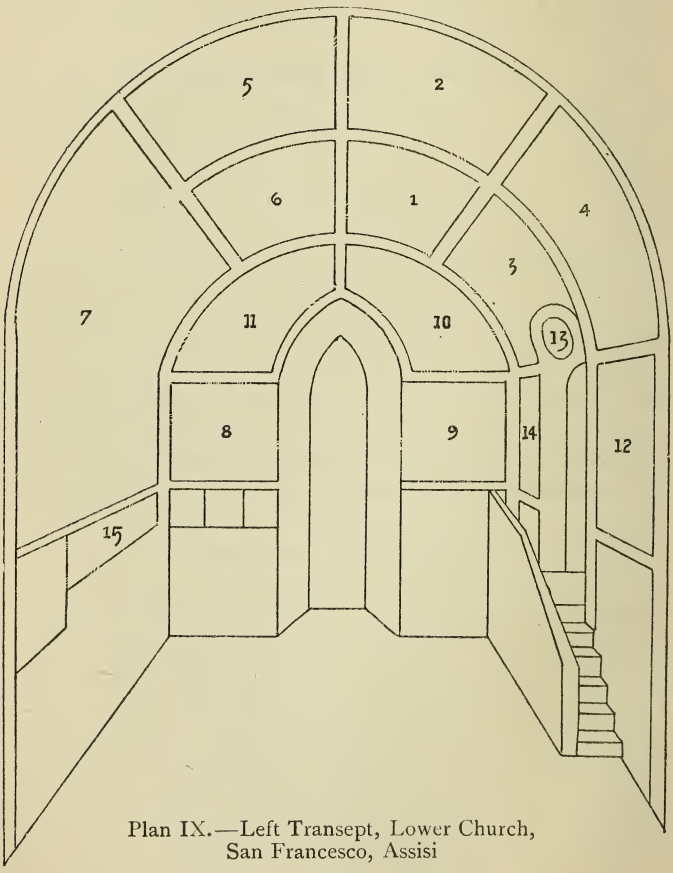
No. 7. **An immense Crucifixion** occupies one side of the transept. The fresco has been damaged, the central foreground having been cut away. The scene is treated historically and not symbolically. The figure of Christ on the Cross shows an advance in power of rendering the human frame as compared with the Crucifixions in the transepts of the upper church. The countenance is strong and expressive. The two thieves are also competently rendered. There is an immense crowd of bystanders, mainly Roman soldiers; they add nothing either to the character or beauty of the picture. In the foreground, to the R., the group of women support the swooning mother, and S. John looks on in helpless misery. The scene indeed is treated as one of human suffering; even the angels who fly round the cross express bitterness and tribulation in commonplace demonstrations of sorrow, proper to trivial rather than to deep and significant emotion.

The new attitude towards life presents its weaker side to us. Christ ceased to be a more or less abstract representation of the Divine Majesty. He was realised as the Man of Sorrows. At the same time the teaching of S. Bernard and S. Francis had quickened the emotions of men; the love of God became an active principle working on the feelings rather than on the intelligence of mankind. Hence we find a tendency to exaggerate the emotional aspect of the mysteries of man's being at the expense of the wider and deeper significance of things.

No. 8. **The Deposition from the Cross.** A study of human emotion which conveys no effective sense of the scene. The purely physical phenomenon has blinded the eyes of the onlookers to the underlying fact that death is about to be swallowed up in victory. The action

of the one who draws out the nail from the feet is trivial.

No. 9. **The Entombment.** The same seven persons



Plan IX.—Left Transept, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi

who appear in the Deposition take part in the entombment.

No. 10. **The Resurrection.** Once more the central figure is the least satisfactory. Christ rises out of the

tomb bearing the cross of victory, five angels on each side greet Him. Around the tomb lie the soldiers on guard; they are fine figures, and their sleep is rendered naturally.

No. 11. **The Descent into Hades.** This fresco is much damaged.

No. 12. **S. Francis receives the Stigmata.** Its position opposite the great Crucifixion (No. 7) suggests the parallel which has been frequently noted. Monte della Vernia in the Casentino having been given to the brethren for a place of prayer, Francis, with the brothers Masseo, Angelo, and Leo, went from Sta. Maria degli Angeli to spend the feast of S. Michael there in the year 1224. On the mountain they dwelt under a beech-tree, and one day when Francis marvelled how the rocks were fissured, it was shown to him that they had been miraculously rent asunder at the time of Christ's Passion. He therefore perceived that it was here that the passion was to be renewed, in his soul by love and compassion, and in his body by the marks of the holy Stigmata. After this he was often visited by angels, and enjoyed much of the sweetness of holy contemplation; his body was sometimes raised from the ground, and was surrounded by such splendour that his brethren could hardly see him.

On the feast of the Assumption he went by himself into a more solitary place, where Brother Leo was to bring bread and water and say matins with him. In this place he was sorely vexed by the devil, who fought much with him, but he was comforted by angels, and every morning a falcon awoke him in time for matins. Once when he was contemplating the unmeasurable glory and joy of the blessed in the life everlasting, an angel appeared to him, and made such ravishing music that all bodily understanding ceased.

At another time Brother Leo followed Francis, and saw a light descend on his head. Francis told Leo how God had spoken to him and asked for three gifts. Then he found three balls of gold in his breast, and offering these to God, it was shown to him that they signified holy obedience,

the most lofty poverty, and the most noble chastity. By the opening of the Gospel in the name of the Most Holy Trinity three times in succession at the Passion of Christ, it was further shown to Francis that as he had followed Christ in the acts of his life, so he should conform himself in the affliction and anguish of the Passion.

On the morning of the day of the Most Holy Cross Francis, turning himself to the East, prayed that he might feel in his body the pain of the Passion, and in his heart the love which moved Christ to bear so much for sinners. Then the fervour of devotion grew in him so much that he was transformed into Jesus through love and compassion. He saw a seraph come from heaven in swift flight, with six shining wings, and he drew so near that Francis saw the likeness of a crucified man. And it was shown to him that not by martyrdom of the body, but by kindling of the spirit must he be transformed into the express likeness of Christ crucified. Then Monte della Vernia appeared as though burning with flame, and the valleys and mountains round about were lighted up so that the shepherds seeing it had great fear.

No. 13. A picture of **S. Francis** over the door leading into the monastery, similar to the picture of **Christ** (No. 11) over the corresponding door in the R. transept.

No. 14. In the corresponding place to the picture of S. Francis and the Skeleton in the southern transept, there is in the northern transept a picture of **the Death of Judas.** The contrast is suggested between the coming of death to those who with Francis follow Christ, and to those who like Judas crucify Him.

No. 15. **Madonna and Child with S. John the Evangelist and S. Francis.** This picture is usually attributed to *Pietro Lorenzetti*; it is one of the most beautiful in the church. It is purely a realisation of emotion; there is hardly a trace of action either intellectual or physical beyond the gesture with which Madonna points out S. Francis to the Child. The emotion is of the simplest kind; the Child looks up at His mother with a certainty of sympathy,

the mother regards the Child wistfully, her love is overshadowed by a sense of the evil days to come. S. John the Evangelist enjoys a classical serenity just tempered by the naturalism of the time; it is a fine ideal of the disciple whom Jesus loved. S. Francis is not characterised as the joyful and simple soul that loved to beg for daily bread, and dreaded the possession even of learning—there is something of the student in the face, which suggests the Dominican rather than the Franciscan habit of mind. It is not only the emotion which is of the simplest kind, the artistic means chosen to express it are equally unaffected. All that can be gained by severity and refinement of drawing and colour we enjoy in this picture.

At the end of the L. transept there is the apsidal chapel of S. John Baptist. Over the tomb prepared for one of the Orsini cardinals, *Pietro Lorenzetti* painted a picture of Madonna and Child with S. John Baptist and S. Francis.

A door leads into the sacristies and to the staircase to the upper church. Over this door is a picture painted in 1516 by *Lo Spagna*, Madonna and Child with SS. Francis, Elizabeth, Catherine, Louis of France, Chiara, and Anthony of Padua.

In the **sacristy** there is a painting representing S. Francis, by *Giunta Pisano*; the Veil of Madonna, presented by Tommaso degli Orsini in 1319; and various other interesting relics.

Frescoes in the Chapel of S. Martin

Gentile Partino da Montefiore was made a cardinal by Boniface VIII. in 1298; after acting as legate in Hungary, he returned to Italy, and founded two chapels in S. Francesco, the one dedicated in the name of S. Martin of Tours, the other in the name of S. Louis, King of France, already described. In the Chapel of S. Martin *Simone Martini* painted in 1322-1326, assisted by his brother *Donato*.

(Plan X., p. 193) No. 49. **Martin divides his cloak** with a

beggar. When riding out of Amiens in winter-time, Martin met a poor naked man to whom no one gave heed. He drew his sword, cut his mantle, and gave half of it to the beggar.

No. 50. **Martin** lies asleep; he sees in a vision Jesus Christ wearing the mantle he had given to the poor man. Angels surround Christ, who points to the sleeper; they have large dull faces with narrow eyes, and hair arranged in heavy coils, characteristic of the Sienese school.

No. 51. **Martin is girt with the sword** and spurs of knighthood. The young soldier, his hands clasped in prayer, looks up with an ecstatic air regardless of his surroundings. The Emperor, who binds on the sword, looks at him with alarm, uncertain what such a temper may mean. To the R. of the picture a commonplace and rather grotesque group celebrate the occasion with music.

No. 52. **S. Martin refuses the Emperor's donative.** The Emperor gives money to the knights who fought against the barbarians, and in the background an armed soldier receives his share. In the foreground S. Martin refuses to accept the gift. The Emperor, seated with ball and sceptre and wearing a garland, looks at the saint with an air of offence and with the cunning amazement natural to the worldly mind when it suddenly finds itself in presence of the spiritual life. Martin holds a cross and looks over his shoulder at the Emperor; his figure is a marvel of detailed realisation, but the shade of disdain which passes across his features fails to strike the true note. The soldier who stands at the side of the principal figure has something of the same fantastic character as the man with the double flute in the last fresco.

No. 53. **S. Martin restores a child to life.** The fresco is much damaged.

No. 54. **S. Martin and the Emperor Valentinian.** S. Martin desired to have some grant from the Emperor, who would not see him. After a week's fasting an angel bade the saint go to the palace, and told him that he would find entrance. When S. Martin appeared before Valen-

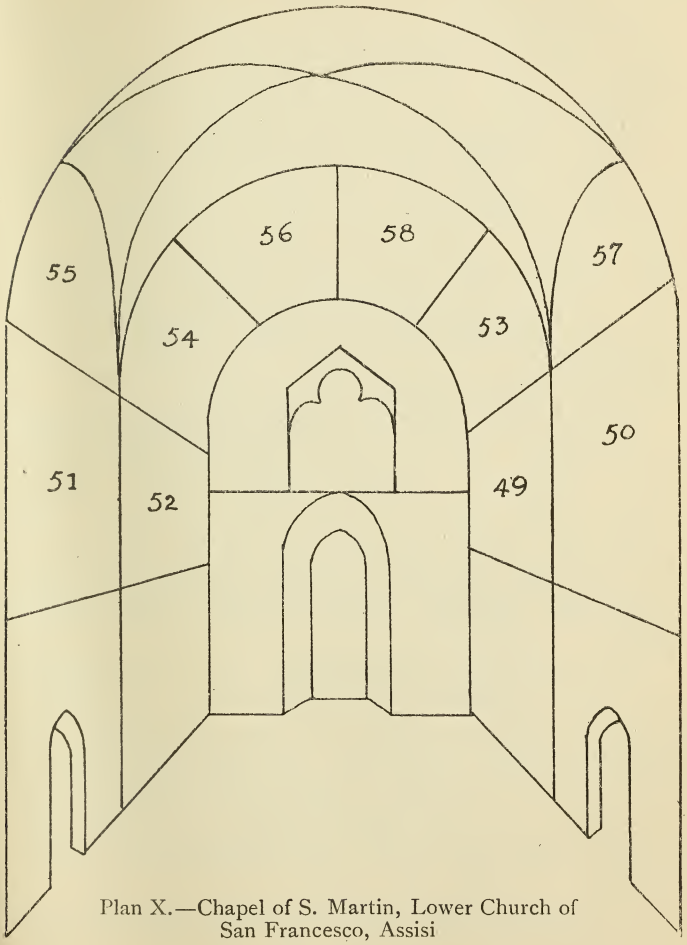
Photograph: Lombardi

KNEELING ANGEL

(From the "Maesta" by Simone Martini in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena)

Compare with the frescoes in the Chapel of S. Martino, Lower Church of Assisi. Painted by Simone Martini

tinian, the Emperor, in spite of his anger, was forced to confess the influence of divine power. Rising from his



Plan X.—Chapel of S. Martin, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

throne, he embraced the saint and granted that which was desired.

No. 55. **The Mass of S. Martin.** S. Martin, going to

church, gave his own clothing to a poor man ; and his archdeacon, in contempt, brought him a common garment from the market. It was so short that when the saint raised his arms in saying Mass it was seen that they were bare, and angels brought sleeves of gold, and upon his head there lighted fire from above as upon the heads of the Apostles.

No. 56. Probably represents the **death of S. Martin.**

No. 57. Probably refers to the revelation of the death of S. Martin made to S. Ambrose. S. Ambrose, whilst saying Mass, fell asleep between the lesson of the prophecy and the Epistle. After waiting for three hours for leave to read the Epistle, his clergy awoke him, and he told them that he had been at the burial of S. Martin, and that in disturbing him they had prevented him making an end of the prayers.

No. 58. Probably the funeral of S. Martin.

The chapel was built by the **Franciscan Cardinal** Gentile da Montefiore. *Over the entrance* there is a picture of S. Martin raising the kneeling cardinal. On the under surface of *the entrance archway* there are painted SS. Francis and Anthony, SS. Catherine and Mary Magdalene, SS. Louis the King and Louis the Archbishop, and SS. Chiara and Elizabeth. These are all in the Sienese manner.

There are six lights in **the window.** The central subjects are Christ and Madonna ; perhaps Martin as a warrior and S. Peter ; S. Martin as a bishop and Cardinal Gentile. In the lights to the L. there are : SS. Gregory and Martin ; SS. Francis and Nicholas ; a bishop and S. Stephen. In the lights to the R., SS. Jerome and Paul ; a civilian with a palm (?) and a bishop ; and SS. Anthony of Padua and Lorenzo.

The frescoes in this chapel show able characterisation. The Emperor, his soldiers, the camp followers, the eager spirit of the young saint, the severe gravity of the elderly bishops, are all well rendered ; but the individual figures are not fused into dramatic representations. There is a

marvellous care in detail and a keen sense of decorative effect and refinement.

The following frescoes form a representation of **Sienese art** in S. Francesco: No. 17 in the right transept, Nos. 1 to 11—the Passion scenes—in the left transept, No. 15 also in that transept, and Nos. 49 to 58 in the Chapel of S. Martin. Hardly anywhere else except in Siena or S. Gimignano can a collection of Sienese art be seen on the same grand scale, and not even in these places is there the same opportunity of comparing the Sienese and Florentine schools.

On leaving the chapel return to the atrium. Turn to the R. (XI. on the ground plan, p. 196).

1. The small Chapel of S. Sebastian.

2. A fresco attributed to Ottaviano Nelli. Madonna is seated on a throne, on the pedestals of which are the four cardinal virtues. To the L. stand SS. Francis and Anthony the Abbot, and to the R. a bishop.

Return to the central nave.

Frescoes in the Nave of the Lower Church

On the walls of the nave of the lower church there are remains of frescoes now hardly distinguishable. On the R. wall there are scenes from the **Passion of Christ,** and on the L. scenes from the **life of S. Francis.**

On the Right Wall

(Plan XI., p. 196) Nos. 36 and 37 have probably formed parts of a Crucifixion; to the L. it is possible to distinguish Madonna and S. John the Evangelist.

No. 38. Deposition from the Cross.

No. 39. Entombment. Christ lies upon the rock, women are gathered about the body.

On the Left Wall

No. 40. Francis renounces the world.

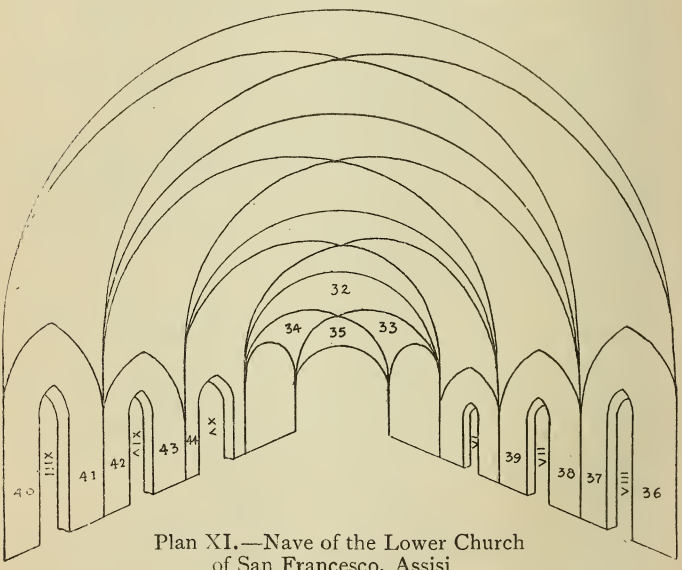
No. 41. The Pope sees the vision of a poor man supporting the Church of the Lateran.

No. 42. Francis preaches to the birds.

No. 43. Francis receives the Stigmata.

No. 44. Death of Francis (close to the pulpit).

No. 45. **Coronation of the Virgin,** on the wall at the back of the pulpit. A beautiful fresco in the Florentine manner. Christ and His Mother are seated on a throne together, they turn towards each other, and Madonna, who is clothed in white and has a white veil over her head, folds



Plan XI.—Nave of the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

her arms in loving adoration and receives the crown from Christ. At each side of the throne nimbed saints and angels look on with eager joy.

No. 46. Scene from the **life of S. Stanislas,** Bishop of Cracow. This bishop was canonised in the church by Innocent IV. in 1253. King Boleslas having seized a piece of land belonging to the Church, the Bishop raised a man from the dead to give testimony to its proper ownership.

No. 47. Bishop Stanislas having censured the disorders of the king's actions, he is murdered by order of the king while at the altar on the 7th May 1079.

No. 48. Remains of a picture of the Crucifixion.

The Crypt.—The body of S. Francis was brought to the church on the 25th May 1230. The authorities of Assisi, fearing that an attempt might be made to seize it, surrounded the procession with armed men, and as soon as it had entered, the doors were shut against the crowd. It has been supposed by some that the translation had already been secretly made at night. In either case the actual place of burial was so carefully hid, that it was only as the result of excavations ordered by Pius VII. in 1818 that the tomb was found. The crypt was built in 1824. It is reached by stairs descending from the nave. Francis is said to have foreseen that his body should receive great honour after his death, and "so will it be for the praise of my God, and by His grace" ("Mirror of Perfection," cix.).

To reach the upper church, mount the stair which leads from the L. transept.

Frescoes in the Upper Church

The frescoes in the transepts, the choir, on the upper part of the walls of the nave, and on the vaulting of the roof were painted by the generation, which in style and for the most part in time, preceded Giotto and Simone Martini. No direct documentary evidence has been found as to authorship. Critics have hazarded certain attributions mainly founded on what have been held to be analogies between the frescoes in Assisi and works in other parts of Italy, of which the authorship is supposed to be more or less known. The date is equally uncertain; probably most critics would place the work round about the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The names most usually associated with the paintings are those of *Cimabue*, *Pietro Cavallini*, *Jacopo Torriti*, *Gaddo Gaddi*, and *Filippo Rusutti*.

The frescoes in the transepts and the choir are generally ascribed to *Cimabue*, a Florentine painter, who is supposed to have flourished from about 1240 up to the early years of the fourteenth century.

Frescoes in the Left Transept

This part of the church was dedicated in the name of **S. Michael and the Holy Angels.**

(Plan XII., p. 200) (dd.) In the galleries, on the R. and L. walls, there are large and magnificent figures of angels, three on each side.

(ee.) Above the gallery, to the R., are six half-lengths of angels.

(ff.) St Michael and two other angels thrust down the Great Dragon and two other evil spirits.

The frescoes on the lower parts of the walls refer to the vision of the end of the world as it was unveiled in the Book of Revelations. (gg.) This fresco is badly damaged, but it is possible to see a representation based upon, but not exactly following, the vision described in Rev. v.

In the upper part of the picture is an almond-shaped aureole, enclosing a throne on which lies the Divine Child. At the sides of the aureole are circular glories, enclosing the four living things—the Angel of S. Matthew and the Eagle of S. John above, the Bull of S. Luke and the Lion of S. Mark below, each having a nimbus.

In two long lines converging towards the centre of the picture are the twenty-four Elders, each wearing a crown, and in some cases it is possible to make out their harps. Where these two lines meet are two vessels, "the two golden phials full of colours, which are the prayers of the saints." Behind each of the lines of elders are grouped saints and angels. The Lamb has been found worthy to open the book, and the four-and-twenty Elders sing their new song of praise. Judgment is set, and the seals are about to be opened. The method of representing the Child is unusual.

(hh.) This fresco is very much destroyed. It probably represents the scene immediately preceding the sealing of the servants of God. Four angels stand outside the walls of a city. They are the four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds, who receive the command to hurt nothing until the sealing of the hundred and fourty-four thousand has been finished.

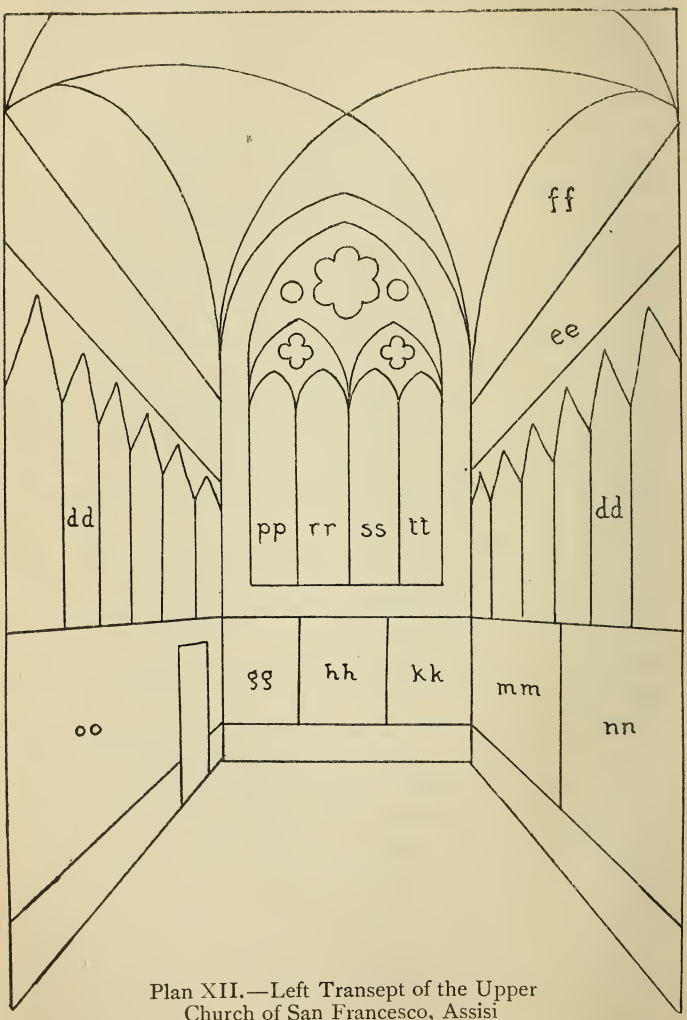
(kk.) The Seven Angels preparing to sound the Seven Trumpets. In the upper part of the picture Christ sits in an almond-shaped aureole. He shows the wounds of the Passion. To the R. are three angels with trumpets, and to the L. there are four. In the lowest part of the picture there are a number of saints kneeling in adoration, the principal figure of the group to the L. being a Franciscan. In the centre is an altar, at the side an angel floats in the air, probably he who had the golden censer, having incense which he offers " with the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne " (Rev. viii. 3).

(mm.) Probably the Fall of Babylon. The city has " become the habitation of devils and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird " (Rev. xviii. 2).

(nn.) Another scene from the Apocalypse, almost entirely destroyed.

(oo.) The wall to the L. is covered with a large picture of the Crucifixion. In spite of its ruinous state, there is a great air about this fresco. It gives a sense of strength and power, and it must in its original state have been one of the most striking of the whole series of works in the upper church. The figure on the cross has the feet divided ; the waist cloth is ample, and seems to flutter in the breeze. There is some attempt to realise the anatomy of the body, with the unpleasant result often seen in early pictures. The eyes appear to be closed. Angels fly through the air as in the picture in the right transept. At the foot of the cross, to the L., there is a woman who throws herself into an attitude of wild despair, while another figure gathers

his robes about him and stretches out his arm with the air



Plan XII.—Left Transept of the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi

of a Roman orator. The group of women are well placed, and they have a good effect.

The Choir.—These pictures are usually ascribed to *Cimabue*.

The upper church was dedicated in the name of **S. Maria Assunta in Cielo.** It is therefore natural that the **life of the Virgin** should be painted in the choir.

The history of Mary also forms a continuation of the history on the L. wall of the nave, in so far as it leads to the consummation of the bond of union between mankind and Christ in His human relations.

The frescoes are in great part only shadows, and some of the subjects can only be doubtfully determined.

(Plan XIII., p. 202) (a.) Uncertain subject.

(b.) A striking landscape ; subject uncertain.

(c.) Perhaps the Nativity of the Virgin.

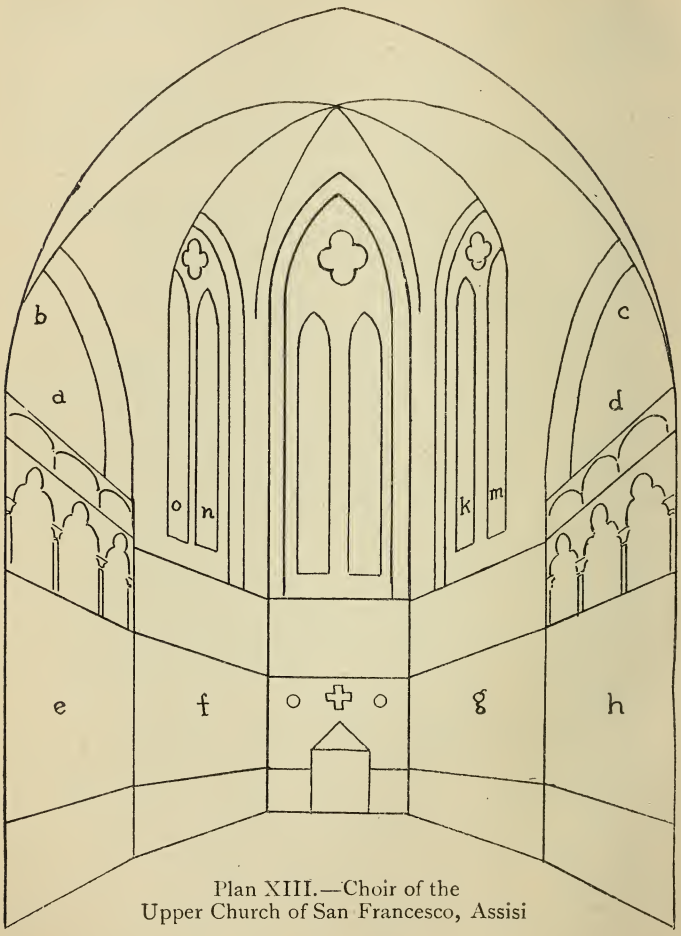
(d.) Perhaps the Betrothal of Joseph and Mary.

(e.) The Apostles assembled at the deathbed of the Virgin. Mary being seized with a strong desire to be with her Son, an angel made known her approaching end. She asked that she might be allowed to see her sons and brethren the Apostles before she died, and they were miraculously brought from the various countries where they were preaching.

(f.) After the Apostles were gathered, Christ came in the night with the choirs of Patriarchs, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins. They all made songs and music around the Virgin, and in the morning the soul left the body and was carried up in the arms of Christ.

(g.) **The Assumption of the Virgin.** The body having been laid in a tomb by the order of Christ, the Apostles watched beside it. The fresco shows three ranks of those who waited. Nearest to the tomb are saints, each with bare head and a circular nimbus. The other ranks are crowned and nimbed. On the third day Christ appeared and asked how He ought to do honour to His Mother? It was answered that as Christ had conquered death and reigned for ever over the world, He should raise His Mother and set her on His right hand. We see the empty tomb, and over the ranks of

saints Christ and the Virgin rise up in an aureole, supported by angels.



Plan XIII.—Choir of the
Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi

(h.) Christ and the Virgin in Glory.

In the galleries and the arcading above these pictures there are to the L. two angels with Madonna, and three

nimbed saints below, and to the R. three Apostles (?) with ecclesiastics below.

The stalls are adorned with elaborate intarsiatura, representing amongst other things famous Franciscans. To the L. of the papal throne S. Francis, to the R. S. Anthony of Padua. Facing into the transept to the L. the Archangel Gabriel, to the R. Madonna. The arms of the papal throne are formed of lions in red marble with the ox and calf under them; beneath the upper step are the asp and basilisk. There is some decoration in marble and gold mosaic, other parts are painted in imitation. The high altar has been decorated with the same kind of work, some of which has been replaced by painting.

The pulpit, near to the high altar, is an exceedingly florid piece of fourteenth-century sculpture. On it are figures of SS. Francis, Anthony of Padua, and Louis of Toulouse. Foliage, dentils, rosettes, all the apparatus of the period has been lavished on it, the gables of the niches are crocketed, the pillars have spiral grooves with dentils or twining growth of vine, the capitals are gilt and many of the details have been painted.

Frescoes in the Right Transept

These frescoes are usually ascribed to *Cimabue*.

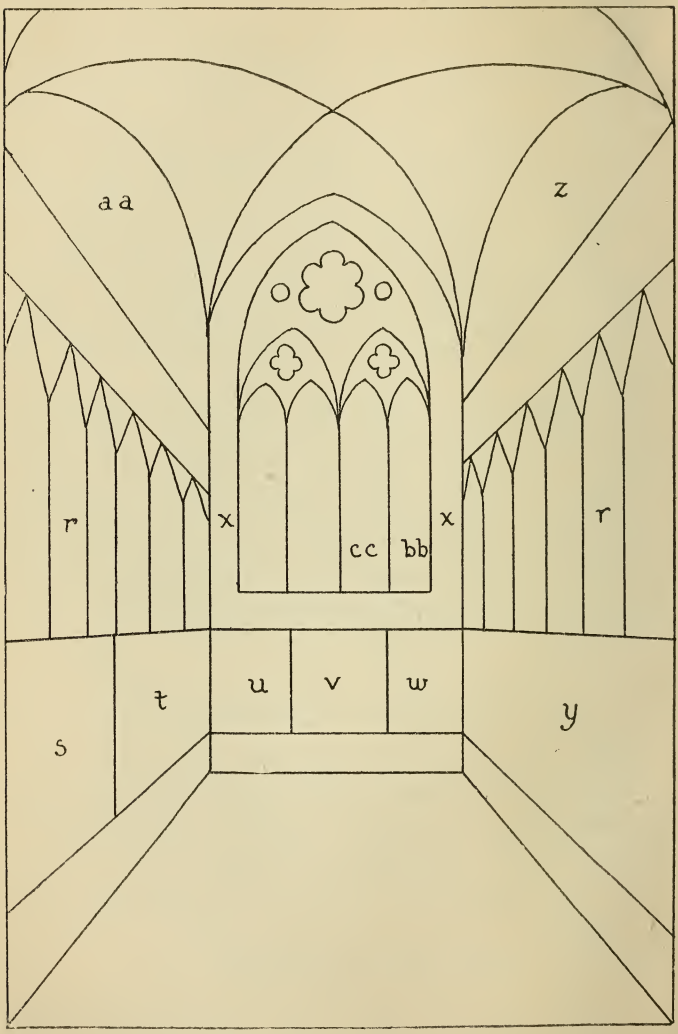
This part of the church was dedicated in the **name of the Apostles,** who are painted in the galleries, six on each side of the transept. (r.) The two lines are headed by SS. Peter and Paul. They are tall, striking figures, finely draped, and there is no tendency to make the heads unduly large.

Below are various **Acts of the Apostles.**

(Plan XIV., p. 204) (s.) Probably the healing of the lame man by SS. Peter and John at the Beautiful gate of the Temple.

(t.) Probably a record of works of healing such as are

described in Acts v. 6: "There came also a multitude out



Plan XIV.—Right Transept of the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi

of the cities round about unto Jerusalem, bringing sick folk

and them which were vexed with unclean spirits, and they were healed every one."

(u.) **Death of Simon Magus.** Simon being in favour with the Emperor Nero, and having by enchantment worked various seeming miracles, was withstood by SS. Peter and Paul. As a final effort to defeat the Apostles he announced that he would ascend into heaven. He climbed a high tower on the Capitol, and threw himself off. He was supported by devils until S. Peter commanded them to let him go, and then he fell and died. The Roman Emperor (?), attended by soldiers, watches the scene.

(v.) Crucifixion of **S. Peter** under the Emperor Nero. St Peter willed to be crucified head downwards, as he said it was not fitting that he should die as Christ had done. It is usually supposed that the pyramid in the picture represents that of Cestius in Rome.

(w.) Destroyed. Little can be seen except a rocky landscape.

(x.) At the sides of the window there are remains of a fresco showing S. Paul, probably before Nero. After the Apostle had confessed Christ, the Emperor ordered him to be beheaded.

(y.) A **Crucifixion.** The figure on the cross is large and heavy, the eyes are closed, there is no inscription over the head, and the feet are separated. The lance and sponge bearers are in their usual places. Madonna falls fainting into the arms of those about her. The disposition of the crowd of figures is not well managed. Angels fly round the Christ, and one of them catches the blood from the side.

(z.) In the lunette above the Crucifixion is the remains of a picture of the Transfiguration.

(aa.) The fresco in the lunette opposite has been destroyed.

Frescoes on the Upper Part of the Walls of the Nave

The Series of Old Testament subjects have been assigned

to *Pietro Cavallini* or painters under his direction; in connection with the New Testament series certain resemblances to the work of *Jacopo Torriti* have been suggested.

(Plan XV., p. 208) A. **God Creates the World.** He appears in the act of blessing. Round about Him there is a double circle of light; in the inner circle there are angels, in the outer some faint traces suggest symbols of the heavens which the angels move and guide. Below this central figure the Dove, with a circular nimbus, floats over the water. To the L. of the Dove is a symbol of the sun, and to the R. that of the moon. In the water there are fish of many kinds; on the land there are plants and trees, with birds resting in the branches. Four-footed beasts are represented by sheep, etc. Creation is complete except for man.

B. God animates the form of Adam. This fresco is much damaged.

C. Creation of Eve.

D. Temptation and Fall. Little more than the fine figure of Adam is left. It is of good proportion, and shows artistic capacity.

E. The Expulsion from Paradise. The figures of Adam and Eve are inferior to the single figure of Adam in the Temptation. The action of the angel is exaggerated.

F, G, H. Destroyed.

The lower series from the Old Testament begin again at the *end nearest the transept.*

K. Noah building the Ark. The hand of God appears in the sky warning Noah to build the Ark. Noah is seated overlooking his sons, who work with nervous energy.

L. The Entering into the Ark. This fresco is much destroyed.

M. Sacrifice of Isaac. The child is bound hand and foot on an altar of elaborate construction. Abraham's left hand rests on the child's head, his right arm is raised, and he wields a scimitar with a vigour and goodwill that is decidedly repulsive.

N. Three Angels appear to Abraham. The fresco is much damaged, but two of the Angels are still to be seen. The staid gravity and dignity of expression and bearing in the principal angel is very striking. They have heavily braided hair, and immense wings crudely coloured as we see them now. The figure of Abraham kneeling before the angels is nearly gone.

O. The Deception of Isaac. The figure of Isaac is almost destroyed, and of Rebecca, who superintends the deceit, little more than the face is left. Jacob has a nimbus, his hands are covered with skin, and his father feels them to make sure of the identity of his son. The figure of Jacob is a remarkably fine example of the work which was done before the time of Giotto. There is in it a high sense of quality and style.

P. Esau brings food to his Father. The blind patriarch is finely rendered. Esau, and a woman who stands looking on, are of a poor type.

Q. Joseph put into a pit by his brethren. This fresco is nearly destroyed. A few sheep may be seen on the rocks.

R. Joseph's brethren kneel before him. A servant in the background shows the gold cup which has been found in Benjamin's sack.

The New Testament Series on the L. wall of the nave :

S. The Annunciation. Almost entirely gone.

T. Destroyed.

U. The Nativity. The Virgin reclines in a fashion usually associated with Byzantine design. The Child lies at the mouth of the cave, and behind are the ox and the ass. Joseph sits with his head resting on one hand. Over the roof of the cave the angels sing the "Gloria in excelsis," and one of them announces the birth to the shepherds, who look up in questioning wonder. Sheep browse in the foreground.

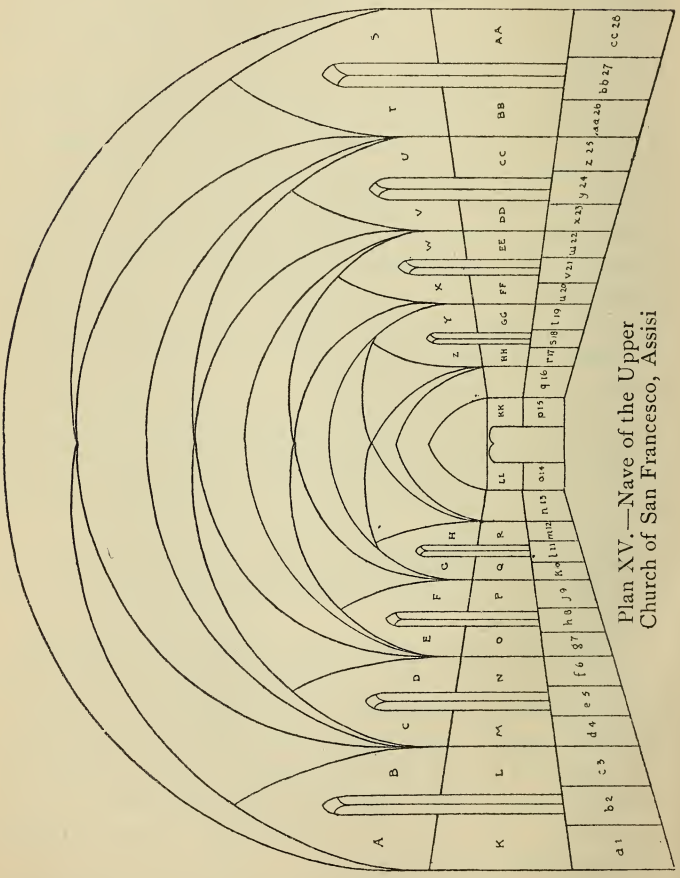
V. Destroyed. Probably the Adoration of the Magi was represented.

W. Presentation in the Temple. This fresco is nearly destroyed.

X. Flight into Egypt. Destroyed.

Y. Christ with the Doctors in the Temple. Much damaged.

Z. Baptism of Christ. Much damaged.



Plan XV.—Nave of the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi

New Testament scenes in the *lower course,* beginning at the transept end of the wall :

AA. The Marriage in Cana. An elaborate feast is set

out. The bride is dressed with great magnificence. She wears a crown and many jewels. At her side is the judge of the feast, represented by a form of classical type. On the L. are the nimbed heads of Christ and His Mother.

BB. Destroyed.

CC. The Betrayal. A crowded picture of inferior design. The types are poor, and the action of Peter, who cuts off the servant's ear, is grotesque.

DD. Destroyed.

EE. The Bearing of the Cross. May be just discerned.

FF. The Crucifixion. This picture is in very poor condition.

GG. The Entombment. The Mother bends over her Son's head. S. Mary Magdalene raises one of His feet. S. John takes a hand. Two finely draped women stand in the background. Angels weep and wail in the sky. The fresco is much damaged.

HH. The three Maries at the Tomb. Nearly destroyed.

The series is continued on the *end wall of the nave*:

KK. The Ascension of Christ. Christ is seen rising into the heavens. An angel of fine design, and with brilliant wings, exhorts the Apostles.

LL. Descent of the Holy Spirit. The Dove, amidst rays, descends upon Madonna and the Apostles. The picture is badly damaged.

Over the centre of the western door is a medallion with Madonna and Child, probably by *Giotto*.

Above the Ascension is a bust of S. Peter, above the Descent of the Holy Spirit is a bust of S. Paul.

Roof Painting and Windows

The name of *Torriti* has been suggested as the possible painter of the group of Christ with SS. John Baptist, Francis, and Madonna.

The frescoes of the four Evangelists have been associated with the work of *Cimabue*.

The four Doctors of the Latin Church have been assigned to *Filippo Rusutli*.

The main design on the **roof of the upper church** is that in the *second bay from the transept*, where half-length pictures of **Christ, S. Francis, Madonna, and S. John the Baptist** occupy the triangular spaces of the groining. The spaces in the corners are filled by angels, with outstretched wings, standing on globes. They have carefully braided hair and inexpressive faces ; their robes are jewelled. The principal figures have a certain stolid and fixed expression. The whole design shows the power which old tradition had upon the painter.

The frescoes of the **four Evangelists,** painted on the *vault over the crossing*, belong to the native school of art, which had broken away from the old tradition without gaining facility or power in any other direction. Each Evangelist has a writing-table, he is attended by the usual symbol, and an angel inspires him for his task. The church architecture affords some interesting detail. The style has points of likeness with that of the Apocalyptic paintings in the northern transept. Each Evangelist is associated with some special part of the world, S. Matthew with Judea, S. Mark with Italy, S. Luke with Achaia, and S. John with Asia.

On *the vault at the west end of the nave* **the four doctors of the Latin Church** are painted. S. Gregory is inspired by the Dove on his shoulder, and a monk sits opposite who writes to his dictation. The other doctors have books before them and an attendant monk sits opposite, the latter little more than half the size of the former. The doctors are enthroned on massive chairs, the attendants sit in a loggia, and between is a reading-desk. The accessories are elaborate, the furniture being decorated in the style of Cosmati mosaic. Everything indeed is done to increase the impressiveness and dignity of the figures. These four men embody the weight and authority of the Catholic Church, they personify the unbending and unyielding spirit of dogma.

Between the last bay of the nave and the western wall of the façade of the upper church there is a small bay covered with an ordinary arch. On it are painted sixteen figures, among which may be recognised those of S. Francis, Sta. Chiara, SS. Dominic and Peter Martyr, the Bishop, S. Rufino, S. Antonio of Padua and S. Benedict. They are stiff, ascetic forms, representing the religious idea in a state of equilibrium. Though they are thus very far from suggesting the mendicant ideal, they have a distinct character expressing well the rule of ecclesiastical authority.

Windows—Upper Church

Many of the **windows in the upper church** have fine glass in them. Parts of those in the choir and transepts are said to date from the thirteenth century, those in the nave belong either to the fourteenth or fifteenth ; there are also modern restorations.

The windows in the choir and transepts may be considered together.

(Plan XII., p. 200) (pp.) *Left transept*—Creation of the world.

(rr.) *Left transept*—History of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel.

(Plan XIII., p. 202) (k.) To the R. in the *choir*—Life of Christ, from the meeting with the Doctors, up to the Betrayal.

(m.) To the L. in the *choir*—Life of Christ, from the Bearing of the Cross, to the Descent of the Holy Spirit.

(Plan XIV., p. 204) (bb.) *Right transept*—Manifestations of Christ between the Resurrection and Ascension. In the windows where the life of Christ is treated the other half of the window has scenes from the Old Testament, supposed to be typical of the event in the New Testament. The Descent of the Holy Spirit has opposite to it Moses descending from Mount Sinai; the Resurrection, and Jonah cast up by the Whale ; Christ bearing the Cross, and Abraham taking Isaac to the Sacrifice ; the Last

Supper, and the Passover; the Transfiguration, and Moses with his face shining as he came from receiving the Law; the Baptism of Christ, and the Crossing of the Red Sea, are other examples of this parallelism.

In this way the whole history from the Creation of the World is worked out—ending with an epitome of the Last Judgment, in the design above the light in the window of the R. transept. The window on the New Testament wall of the nave nearest the choir, has scenes from the story of the Magi, the Slaughter of the Innocents, the Presentation, and the Rods laid on the Altar. The design at the bottom of the third window from the choir on the same side is to be remarked for the relation between Christ and S. Francis and Madonna and Child. The fourth window from the choir on the Old Testament side of the nave has a series of scenes from the history of S. Francis.

Frescoes describing the Life of S. Francis
(Nave walls, lower part)

Modern critical opinion has been rather sharply divided on the authorship of these frescoes. According to one opinion, 2-19 (Plan XV., p. 208) were the work of *Giotto* himself, 20-28 being the work of an assistant, who is identified with the painter of an altar-piece with the figure of S. Cecilia. No 20, in the gallery of the Uffizi. Another opinion is that in 6-12 tendencies are found somewhat similar to tendencies in the work of *Rusutti*, and that 2-5 and 13-15 were by assistants of Giotto; No. 1, No. 16, and 19-23 were by Giotto, and possibly 25-28 by the above-mentioned painter of the S. Cecilia altar-piece.

Apart, however, from such differences in critical judgment, all are agreed in estimating highly the interest and importance of this series.

The life of S. Francis, as painted in the upper church, begins with the history of the saint after his soul had been touched by the love of God, but before he had denied the world. The following account is taken mainly from Bonaventura's Life of Francis.

(Plan XV., p. 208) (a 1.) A man of simple mind meets Francis and two of his companions. The poor man having an instinctive insight into the holiness of the youth, spreads his cloak on the ground. Francis steps on it and looks at him who offers the service with a gracious air; his two companions are pleased with the honour done to their friend, while two elder men wonder at what they regard as the presumption of a young man in accepting such a distinction. These emotions are rendered in the simplest and most natural way. The details of the figures, such as the hands and draperies, show how much had still to be learned.

The scene is laid in the Piazza Grande. The temple of Minerva is curiously translated in terms of Gothic feeling; at one side of it is a church with pointed windows and a campanile of the usual kind, and at the other a house with a series of open balconies.

(b 2.) **Francis gives his cloak** to a poor nobleman. Through the love of God Francis has learned to love his neighbour. He has been touched by the world-weary and downcast air of the poor nobleman, and with courtly benevolence he gives his cloak to him.

High on the hill to the R. is a church and monastery, and opposite are the towers of a little hill city. The horse from which Francis has dismounted is badly drawn, but the natural way in which it turns to graze at the wayside marks a new feeling.

(c 3.) **The Vision of the Palace.** The sleeping Francis saw the vision of a great palace covered with banners and decorations bearing the cognisance of the cross. Christ appeared to him, and, in answer to the query as to the object of the palace, said, it is "for thee and thy warriors."

Francis understood this as a call to knightly duty, and set out to serve a great count in Apulia. On the way he had another vision, in which God spoke to him, saying, "Francis, who can make thee into the best knight—the master or the servant?" Francis replied, "The master." "Then," the Lord said, "why dost thou leave the master

for the servant?" Francis answered, "What wilt thou that I should do, O my Lord?" In reply he was bidden to return to his home, and was taught the spiritual signification of the vision of the palace.

The lower part of the palace is built with pillar, lintel, and round arches, the upper part is in Gothic style, representing the change which was taking place during the thirteenth century.

(d 4.) **Francis, while praying in S. Damiano,** hears the words come from the Crucified Figure on the cross, "Go, Francis, and repair My Church." Francis kneels in a loggia opening into the building. Believing that the command was concerned with the material fabric of the church, he took some of his father's cloth and sold it at Foligno, so that he might have the means to repair S. Damiano.

(e 5.) **Francis renounces** his family and his earthly inheritance. His father, greatly incensed with his son, haled him before the bishop. Francis, hearing his father coming, said, "Father, I am not afraid if you beat me or imprison me; I am content to endure affliction and suffering, because I deserve it for my sins." When they appeared before the bishop, so that he might renounce his mother's inheritance as his father desired, he humbly took off all his clothes but his under-garments. He threw them to his father, and renounced every temporal inheritance, whether of father or mother, saying, "Now I can say, 'Pater Noster, qui es in cœlis.'" The bishop seeing so much warmth of spirit took him to his arms, and covered him with the folds of his mantle. And Francis took a poor garment from one of the bishop's labourers, and so he was clothed. S. Francis stands covered by the bishop's robe —in the attitude of prayer, which is answered by the appearance of a hand in the sky.

As the brethren grew in numbers, Francis wrote a form of living in simple words, founding it in everything on the observance of the Gospel. When the brethren desired the confirmation of this writing, and yet were afraid, Francis saw in a vision a great tree, and he was raised up so that

he might touch the top. It bowed its topmost branches, and thus was shown the condescension of the Apostolic See. So Francis and the brethren went to Rome and to the Lateran to present their petition. But the Pope was busy, and they were driven away. That night the Pope saw a vision of a palm branch that grew into a mighty tree, and divine wisdom showed him that this was the poor man who had been refused. Then Francis was sought out, and brought before the Pope, and some of the Cardinals doubted by reason of the strictness of the rule. One of them, however, moved by the Holy Spirit, declared it was naught more than the Gospel. Then the Pope bade Francis pray that God would show them His will, and he so spake that the Pope knew that Christ spoke in him. That night the Pope had another vision, in which he saw the Church of S. John Lateran about to fall, and a little man came and put his back under it, whereby the Pope saw that it was this same poor man who, by teaching of holy deeds and doctrine should sustain the Church, and therefore he gave his approbation to the rule.

This story is told in the frescoes, Nos. f 6 and g 7. S. Francis upholding the Church, in f 6, is very remarkable; the figure stands out as the finest example of the new manner in the upper church. But it is g 7 which strikes the full note of the coming change in the world.

We see on the one hand the Pope, the Cardinals, the Bishops, the hierarchy of the Church; on the other, a group of poor men kneeling humbly, and asking for nothing but to be allowed to live by the rule of the Gospel. Such is the outward seeming, but the kneeling figure of Francis offering his simple words, is the embodiment of the spirit of individualism in opposition to the organised system of the Church. Men were no longer content to approach the truth through other men, even though they might be bishops or popes. The spirit within each man must approach the Divine Spirit for itself, and so at a later time, when sore pressed by ecclesiastical authority, S. Francis refused to accept any rule other than "that which had

been mercifully shown and given " to him " by the Lord." The painter has recognised this true source of spiritual strength, inasmuch as while the great churchmen have but the insignia of their office, Francis has the nimbus of divine power.

(h 8.) **S. Francis and the car of fire.** When the brethren were living at Rivo Torto, Francis went to Assisi on a certain Saturday, so that he might preach on the next day in the Duomo. At night, when some of the brethren were asleep and others awake, they saw a car of fire, which passed three times through the house. Inspired by God, they knew that the chariot was their father Francis, and they perceived that the vision was granted to show that he was the chariot which they ought to follow as if he had been another Elias.

(j 9.) **The throne in heaven** reserved for S. Francis. S. Francis and Brother Pacifico being in the deserted Church of S. Peter at Bovara, near Trevi, S. Francis sent the brother to the leper hospital, and he himself spent the night in the church, where he was sorely tempted. In the morning he was praying when Pacifico returned, and to this latter there was granted a vision of the thrones in heaven.

It was told him that the highest had been the place of Lucifer, and that in his stead the humble Francis should sit in it. When Brother Pacifico thereafter asked Francis of himself, he declared that he was the greatest sinner in the world, and so Pacifico saw that his vision was true, and that Francis, by reason of his humility, was worthy to sit on the throne of Lucifer (" Mirror of Perfection," p. 60).

(k 10.) **The devils driven away from Arezzo.** Francis, coming to Arezzo, found commotion and combat among the citizens, and he saw above the city a multitude of demons who were in great joy. Francis, knowing by the spirit that they were the cause of the trouble in the city, ordered Brother Silvestro that he should command these devils in the name of God so that immediately, by virtue of obedience, they should depart. And Brother Silvestro,

going with great fervour and doing obedience to the Blessed Francis, the devils at once departed and the city was pacified. Francis, finding all in peace and concord, praised God that by virtue of holy humility and obedience, Brother Silvestro had chased away so great malignity of Pride.

(l 11.) **S. Francis before the Sultan.** Francis, moved by the desire he had to shed his blood for the increase of faith, went into Syria and travelled to the country of the Sultan of Babylon. When brought before the Sultan and questioned as to his buisness, Francis answered, "I am sent by God the Most High, and not by any man of this world, so that I can show to thee and thy people the way of salvation and tell to thee the truth of the gospel of Christ." He preached with so much constancy of mind, strength of soul, and fervour of spirit, that the Sultan had him in great favour, and desired him to stay in the country. Francis said to the Sultan, " If thou doubt of leaving the faith of Mahomet for that of Christ, command that a fire be lit so that thy priests and I may enter it, and according to who is kept safe believe thou in that faith." The Sultan, seeing one of his priests in flight, declared that they would not enter. Francis then offered to go into it by himself ; if he was saved it would be proof of the truth of the religion of Christ, and if he were burned it would be for his sins. But for fear of the people the Sultan would not consent, and so Francis, having refused all gifts, returned to Christendom.

The Sultan is magnificent, as one who stands above and beyond the rival creeds. The two Moslem priests have strong impressive faces ; they are moved neither by the spiritual appeal nor the physical terror.

(m 12.) **S. Francis in Communion with God.** S. Francis is raised from the earth and rests on a cloud. He contemplates God face to face as Moses of old. His arms are stretched out widely as if to embrace the vision which appears in the sky and blesses him. A group of brethren below see the vision, but only with a sense of alarmed curiosity.

(n 13.) **The Presepio at Greggio.** In order to move the people to devotion and bring to mind the nativity of Christ, Francis ordered (after licence from the Pope) that with great solemnity they should bring a manger, with an ox and ass, into the church. Many of the brethren and good women were there, and many lights were lit, and there was much singing of holy songs. The man of God stood near the manger, full of tenderness, weeping tears of devotion and piety, and Mass was celebrated. Then Francis sang the gospel and preached of the nativity, and it was affirmed that at this point a sleeping child was seen in his arms. And the hay which was in the manger had much virtue in curing the sick.

(o 14.) **The Miraculous Spring of Water.** When Francis was going to spend the forty days of S. Michael on the Monte della Vernia, being weakened by watching and by strife with devils, he borrowed a small ass. While they were on the way the countryman to whom it belonged was thirsty. Francis dismounted and, kneeling down, prayed and bade the countryman go to a certain spot, where he found water though none had been there before, nor has it been seen since. So the countryman drank, and they thanked God for the miracle. Vasari singles out this scene and says that so natural is the man who drinks that one might believe him to be a living person.

Passing by the great western doors we come to—

(p 15.) **S. Francis preaching to the Birds.** It is told that on the way to Bevagna he saw many birds, and he bid his companions wait while he went and preached to them. "My sister birds," said he, "you should be much bound to God, your Creator, and you should always, in every place, praise Him, for He has given you liberty to fly, and vestments double and triple, and has preserved your seed in the Ark of Noah, and also He keeps you in the air, which He has made for you, and besides this He feeds you and gives you the fountains and rivers to drink from, and valleys for your refuge. And because ye do not know how to spin and sew, God clothes you, therefore keep your-

selves, my sisters, from the sin of ingratitude." When Francis made the sign of the cross, the birds rose up and spread themselves to the four quarters of the world, to signify that the preaching of the cross should spread everywhere. Francis was drawing a picture of his own ideal in the free life of the birds, devoid of care and devoted to the praise of God, and the artist seems to have been moved by the picture of natural beauty that he was set to paint.

(q 16.) **The Death of the Lord of Celano.** Francis and his companions having been received with joyfulness, the lord of the house was called to one side and bidden to confess and give thanks to God for all His mercies; so giving heed, he put his house in order, and made ready to receive death. Afterwards they sat down to meat, and while eating the lord of Celano passed from this life; and thus it was shown how God holds dear those who receive His servants.

(r 17.) **S. Francis preaches before Honorius III.** In order to please the Cardinal Ugolino, Francis made ready a sermon very diligently, but when he began to preach the thing went from him, and confessing what had happened, he prayed to the Holy Spirit, and at once there was given to him understanding, and he spoke with so much power that the Pope and Cardinals were moved. It is also said that so great was his fervour of spirit that he moved his feet as one who dances—not for amusement, but as overcome by divine joy.

The Pope sits in a fine Gothic church, with detail suitable to the period. He is not the old man that Honorius really was, but a strong, vigorous personality in the full exercise of powerful capacities. The churchmen listen with an air of puzzled doubt; they are fearful of what may come of this new doctrine.

(s 18.) **S. Francis appears at a Chapter held at Arles.** At the Provincial Chapters, though Francis could not be there in body, he was ever with the brethren in spirit, and even sometimes in presence. At Arles, when Anthony preached of the Cross, it was given to Brother Monaldo

to see Francis in the air with his arms spread out in the form of a cross.

(t 19.) **S. Francis receives the Stigmata.** Francis had the habit of never being idle ; like the angels he was always ascending or descending, ascending in contemplation to God or descending in love to his neighbour. He divided his energies between the active and contemplative life, and so two years before he died he went to keep the fast of S. Michael on the Monte della Vernia.

On the day of the Exaltation of the Cross Francis saw a seraph with six shining wings descend from heaven. As he looked at it he saw between the wings the likeness of a crucified man. Then he was sealed with the sign of the wounds. Knowing that there could be no affinity between the immortality of the seraph and the infirmity of the Passion, he recognised that as he had always borne Christ and His Passion in his heart and also in his deeds, so he must be transformed into Christ not through martyrdom of the flesh but by the ardour of his soul and of his mind. Thus when the vision left him he was filled with the fervour of the love of Christ, and on his body was the mark of the wounds of Christ.

(u 20.) **The Death of S. Francis.** Francis, knowing of the day of his death, desired to be carried down to Sta. Maria degli Angeli. Having taken off his clothes he lay down on the ground, and, with his face turned to heaven, he said, " I have done that which I had to do ; may our Lord Jesus teach you so that you may be strong in His love and service." He thanked God that as Christ had been naked on the cross so he at his end was poor and naked. When the hour of his death had come he bade his brethren that they should observe Patience and Poverty and the faith of the Holy Roman Church, and, above all things, the Holy Gospel. He blessed them, saying, " To God I commend you all, that you may obey and fear Him, that you may be strong in temptation, and constant in virtue, and do what is just to your neighbours." When they had read from the Gospel and from the Psalms, that most holy

soul left the body and was received into the light of Eternal Life.

The dead man is surrounded by his sorrowing brethren, and in the background the clergy are collected ready to perform the usual rites. In the sky there is the soul of Francis pictured as a youth borne to heaven in an aureole of light, and supported by four angels; other angels to R. and L. attend them. The picture is a good deal damaged, but it shows that the painter had overcome many of the technical difficulties that beset the artists of the early fourteenth century.

(v 21.) **The Vision of the Bishop of Assisi** and of Brother Agostino. The bishop having gone on a pilgrimage to Monte Gargano, Francis appeared to him as he slept at Beneventum, and said, "I leave the world and go to heaven with great joy." When he returned to Assisi the bishop knew that the time of his vision was the same as that at which Francis had passed from this life. At the same time a certain Brother Agostino, who had been lying waiting for death, and without power of speech, suddenly rose up crying, "Wait, father, wait. Behold, I come with thee."

(w 22.) **The Verification of the Stigmata.** In the upper part of the fresco are pictures resting on a beam in the church wherein the scene is laid. To the L., Madonna and Child; in the centre, a crucifix; and to the R., an angel. Below lies the body of S. Francis, the service for the dead is being read, and in the background are a number of clergy and lay people, for many came to see and be assured of the Miracle of the Stigmata. Among these was a noble knight full of doubt even like the Apostle Thomas. And when he had seen and moved the nails with his hand, and also the wound in the side, in the presence of many seculars and religious, they were all certain of that of which they were in doubt.

(x 23.) **Sta. Chiara salutes the dead Francis** as the procession passes by S. Damiano.

On the morning after Francis died a great crowd from

the city and the country came, and with great solemnity of canticles and hymns, and the divine office, and a multitude of torches and candles, they carried the body to Assisi. When they came to S. Damiano, Chiara and her holy sisters were consoled by seeing and kissing the holy body of their father Francis, ornamented with the holy Stigmata, and clear and shining.

(y 24.) **Canonisation of S. Francis.** Pope Gregory IX., having heard of the many miracles done by Francis throughout his life and after his death, took counsel whether to canonise the body or no. He sent certain Cardinals to search out the miracles whether they were true, and they, having found that these things were so, the Pope came with great solemnity to Assisi, and on the eighth day before the Kalends of June 1228 the most holy body of the saint was canonised. This fresco is very much damaged.

(z 25.) **The Doubt of Pope Gregory is resolved.** Pope Gregory IX. (the Cardinal Ugolino) having canonised S. Francis, was still in doubt about the Stigmata. Whence one night there appeared to him S. Francis with a severe countenance showing anger, and he reproved Gregory for the hardness of his heart. Lifting up his arm he showed the wound, and when S. Francis had gathered the blood from it in a phial he passed out of sight. And by this the Pope had no more doubt.

(aa 26). **A certain woman greatly devoted to S. Francis** died with some sin unconfessed. Suddenly, when her kinsfolk and the priest were watching, she rose up and told them that S. Francis had obtained grace for her, that the soul might return to the body until she had confessed. So it was, that after confession her body fell dead, as before, and her soul was freed from great punishment.

(bb 27.) **A certain man, Giovanni,** was wounded so sorely that the doctor could do nothing for him, and when there was no more hope S. Francis appeared and said, "Because of thy faith in the Virgin Mary and me, God wills that thou should be freed from this evil." S. Francis

touched the wounds with the hands which bore the mark of the Stigmata, and they were healed.

(cc 28.) **A certain Peter having been condemned for heresy** was given to the keeping of the Bishop of Tivoli. Peter having laid down every error and prayed to S. Francis, the latter appeared to him in prison. The chains fell from the prisoner's limbs, and the door was opened. When the bishop told the Cardinals and the Pope what had happened, they praised God and the blessed S. Francis, and let the man go.

OTHER CHURCHES

The Church of Sta. Chiara

[This was the church raised in honour of the saint after her death.

The building was begun in 1257 upon a piece of ground beside the old parish church of **S. Giorgio,** which was incorporated in the new structure. The hospital belonging to S. Giorgio became the convent to which the "poor ladies" were transferred from S. Damiano.

It was in the parish church that S. Francis had learned to read and write, and it was here that his body lay until the Church of S. Francesco was built.

The main incidents in the life of Sta. Chiara of which we have any record, are as follows :—She was the daughter of Favorino Scifi, a noble, whose castle stood on the outskirts of Assisi in the direction of the Carceri. Sta. Chiara had listened to the preaching of S. Francis. She was inspired with an enthusiasm for the ideal of life which he set before men. She determined to follow his example, to leave everything, and to take up the life of holy poverty. S. Francis advised her to make the definite renunciation on Palm Sunday of the year 1212. In the Cathedral, on the morning of that day, she remained kneeling in prayer while the rest of the congregation went up to the altar to

receive the branches of palms. Thereupon the bishop himself came towards her and placed the palm in her hand.

That night she left her father's house and went down to the Porziuncola, where she was received by Francis. She changed her dress for a plain grey habit, her hair was shorn off, and thus she marked her renunciation of the world and her determination to become a servant of the poor.

Soon after she was joined by her sister Agnes, by her mother Ortolana, and by some members of another noble family, the Ubaldini. They received the chapel and convent of S. Damiano from S. Francis, and here they lived a laborious life of devotion, observing strictly the rule of poverty. Sta. Chiara died at the age of sixty. For some years before her death she had lost the use of her limbs, but this did not prevent her from continuing to labour in the spinning of flax, which the sisters used for making altar cloths.

After her death in 1253 the community was removed for greater safety to S. Giorgio, within the walls of Assisi.]

The Church of S. Chiara and the convent attached occupy a fine position at the south-west end of the town. The church is built of red and white stone in the pointed style; it has been thought by some that the structure is a copy of the upper church at S. Francesco. The thrust of the vaulted roof has been carried by flying buttresses straight to the ground in such a way that the graceful effect of the device is lost, although there is something fine in the directness and massiveness of the design. The architect was *Fra Filippo da Campello*, and the wheel window designed by him in the western façade is famed for its beauty.

Enter the building by a side door.

The nave shows an unbroken space with a high vaulted roof, the coating of whitewash which hides the frescoes originally painted on the walls gives an air of bleakness to the interior, this effect is increased by the wide span of the four bays.

The only frescoes that remain visible are in the vault-

ing of the roof above the high altar. The colour is light and harmonious and the general effect is very beautiful. They celebrate famous Virgins—Madonna and Child with S. Chiara; SS. Cecilia and Lucia; SS. Agnes of Rome and Agnes of Assisi; SS. Catherine and Margaret. In the R. transept a few fragments of fresco recovered from whitewash have formed parts of a Flight into Egypt, a Massacre of the Innocents, and the translation of the body of Sta. Chiara.

The Chapel of S. Agnes is on the L. side of the church; it contains **an interesting portrait of Sta. Chiara,** said to be the work of Cimabue. The painting is mainly in two colours, red and black; and there are eight scenes from the life of the saint at the sides.

The portrait is that of a tall, middle-aged woman with a thin, worn face. She wears a roughly made black dress and hood. She has a cord round her waist, her feet are bare. The picture is not beautiful, but it has the appearance of being a faithful record.

The scenes are as follows, beginning with the lowest panel on the L. :—

(1.) Sta. Chiara receives a palm branch from the Bishop.

(2.) She meets S. Francis and the Frati at the Porziuncola.

(3.) She makes her vows of renunciation, and her hair is cut off.

(4.) Her parents try to force her to return to them.

On the R., beginning at the top :

(5.) S. Agnes joins her sister.

(6.) Sta. Chiara blesses the bread on the occasion when Innocent IV. came to visit her.

(7.) The death of the saint.

(8.) The translation of the body from S. Damiano to S. Giorgio. On the opposite wall of the chapel is a picture of Madonna and Child, attributed by some authorities to Cimabue.

Crossing the nave we enter on the R. side the **Chapel of S. Giorgio**, once the parish church, where the bodies of

both S. Francis and Sta. Chiara were kept until the new buildings were ready.

Over the entrance door is a crucifix of the type often ascribed to Margaritone: the eyes are closed, the expression is one of suffering, the body is contorted. Over the inscription, Madonna with outspread hands is attended by angels. At the foot of the cross, SS. Chiara and Francis and B. Benedetta. Behind the altar in the Chapel of S. Giorgio, Deposition from the Cross, Entombment and Resurrection. Beneath, to the R., three-quarter-length pictures of S. Chiara, S. John Baptist, Madonna and Child, S. Michael, and S. Francis. To the L., a small panel of the Crucifixion with SS. Chiara and Agnes of Assisi and SS. Rufino and Agnes of Rome. On the wall above the entrance, frescoes of the Annunciation, S. George slaying the Dragon, the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi. On the wall opposite the altar a rude picture, Madonna and Child in the centre; to the L., Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration, and Presentation. To the R., Flagellation, Crucifixion, Deposition, Maries at the Tomb. Through a grill in the chapel wall visitors may see the Crucifix before which S. Francis was kneeling when he had the vision at S. Damiano. The head is erect, the arms are extended, the eyes are open. Beneath the arms of the cross are Madonna, S. John and the Maries, Magdalene, Cleophas and Salome.

From the centre of the nave a staircase leads down to **the crypt** where the body of the saint is preserved. Another stairway leads up to the spot where the stone coffin containing the remains was discovered in 1850 under the high altar. The large blocks of stone show how much care had been taken to provide a secure and secret place for the safe keeping of the great treasure.

The crypt is decorated with paintings in monochrome executed in 1862. They represent the incidents in the life of the saint which have already been described, and the subjects will be easily recognised.

The body of Sta. Chiara, clothed in a black habit, is shown behind a glass window.

In the Via Principe di Napoli, is the

Cappella dei Pellegrini

[This is the oratory attached to an hospital for the entertainment of pilgrims who come to visit the tomb of S. Francis.

The chapel is dedicated in the names of S. James Major, the patron of pilgrims, and of S. Anthony the Abbot.]

The frescoes on the outside wall and in the interior are by two artists, *Matteo da Gualdo* (work dated 1468) and *Pier Antonio da Foligno*, called *Mezzastris* (working as late as 1482).

The works of Matteo da Gualdo show the influence of Boccati da Camerino, while Mezzastris was a scholar of Benozzo Gozzoli.

The fresco on the outside wall above the door is much damaged. It is attributed by some to Matteo da Gualdo and by others to Mezzastris.

The subject is Christ Enthroned, holding a book with the inscription, " I am the way and the truth."

Round about is a glory of angels ; eight of them are playing instruments, four others hold scrolls with inscriptions. On either side are the titulary saints. Only half of the figure of S. James remains ; he carries a pilgrim's staff. On the R. is S. Anthony the Abbot. Round the corner of the building to the L. are traces of a huge figure of S. Christopher.

In the Interior. On the wall opposite to the entrance above the altar, Matteo da Gualdo painted a Madonna and Child enthroned with SS. James and Anthony. In the lunette above, which is pierced by a window, is the Annunciation, with angels singing praises from the earth and from the heavens. At the side of the Virgin the artist has placed a little lion, which may have a symbolical reference to the Lion of Judah.

The pictures on the side walls are by Mezzastris. On the R., on entering, is the story of the miraculous help given by

S. James Major to some pilgrims on their way to Compostella.

The son of a certain German, while journeying to the shrine along with his parents, was wrongfully accused of theft. He was condemned to be hanged, but the saint coming to the help of the innocent youth, placed his hand under the feet of the young man, who by means of this invisible support remained uninjured. This is the subject of the scene nearest to the door.

The landscape behind the figures is curiously conventional. The colour of the mountains is a vivid pink, while the objects in the foreground are grotesquely out of proportion. No attempt is made to tell the story dramatically. The bereaved parents, discovering after several days that their son still lived, hastened to the judge who had condemned him. At this point historians differ as to what took place. According to some, the parents finding the judge at table related the marvellous news that they had found their son alive. The judge mockingly replied, "If your son liveth so do those fowls in the dish," and the roasted birds immediately rose up before him alive. According to others the parents urged the innocence of their son before the sceptical judge, who replied, "I should as soon believe that these fowls were alive as in the innocency of the young man." At the same moment the fowls rose to prove his error.

The figures seated at table are fairly natural, but the standing figures and those in movement are particularly wooden.

Wall to the L. of entrance. Two scenes from the life of **S. Anthony the Abbot** are chosen, illustrating the charity of the saint.

Nearest to the altar, we see S. Anthony distributing alms to the blind, the sick, and the lame. The figure of the old hermit is a dignified presentment, and the beggars express their eagerness and gratitude with natural gestures. In the background is a rudimentary landscape.

The next scene describes how food was miraculously

provided for the saint. Six animals, intended possibly to represent camels, burdened with provisions, kneel down before S. Anthony, who is seated at the door of a church. The monks grouped round him raise their hands in astonishment or fold them in prayer.

In the **vaulting of the roof** are four figures, bishops and cardinals or other dignitaries of the Church. It has been assumed that they represent the four Latin Doctors of the Church, but Canon Elisei, who has written a pamphlet upon the chapel, thinks that the figures have a closer connection with the subjects illustrated on the walls. He identifies the Pope as Leo III., who authenticated the existence of the body of S. James at Compostella. The bishop to the L. is S. Isidore of Seville, who wrote upon the preaching of the Apostle in Spain. The other bishop is S. Augustine, the eulogiser of S. Anthony the Abbot, and the Cardinal is S. Bonaventura, canonised in 1482, the author of a treatise upon the life of the Religious. Above the door of entrance is the figure of Christ surrounded by kneeling angels. On the L. is S. James; on the R., S. Anthony and the young saint Ansano, who holds his lungs in his hand. S. Ansano is the patron of those who suffer from pulmonary affections. The figure of the saint has been declared to be the work of *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo*.

Confraternity of S. Francis

The chapel of this confraternity is in the Via Giuseppe Garibaldi. On the outside, over the door, S. Francis offers the roses which have bloomed in the snow to Madonna, who sits in a mandorla with Christ—attended by many angels. On the side wall of the building there are some ruined frescoes in monochrome. The chapel has a vaulted roof. Over the altar, a Crucifixion. S. Mary Magdalene kneels at the foot of the cross. To the R., SS. John and Francis; to the L., the group of the Maries supporting Madonna, and a mendicant with fetters. A beautiful garden with a fine view over the valley opens out of the hall of the fraternity.

MONUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE LIFE OF S. FRANCIS

Chiesa Nuova

A small street leading out of the southern corner of the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele takes us to the **Chiesa Nuova**, a church raised on the side of the house which belonged to Pietro Bernardone, the father of S. Francis.

A portion of a wall, with an arch above a door, are shown as a part of the old dwelling-house. A niche in this wall is pointed out as the place where S. Francis was shut up by his father.

In the alley on the north side of the church is the little **Cappella di S. Francesco**, built on the site of a stable where S. Francis was born. The legend that his birth took place in a stable is probably due to the parallel which was drawn between the life of the saint and that of Christ.

S. Maria Maggiore. Opening out of the Via Giuseppe Garibaldi is the church and piazza of S. M. Maggiore and the palace of the bishop. Note the simple form of the wheel window in the façade of the church. An inscription in the antechamber of the palace records the refusal of Francis to be bound by family ties. It is the traditional site of the scene in which Francis laid his clothes at the feet of his father, and declared that henceforth "I only say our Father in heaven."

About two miles from Sta. Maria degli Angeli, on the road to Spello, there is the church which has been known as that of **Rivo Torto**, the place to which S. Francis and his brethren went on their return from receiving the approbation of Pope Innocent III. In the church some small cells are shown which have been said to be those used by S. Francis. It is now believed that this church is not the place connected with the life of the brethren.

The small church or rather chapel of **S. Giovanni d'Arce** has by some been supposed to represent the Rivo Torto of the time of S. Francis. Leave the town by the Porta S.

Pietro and follow the path under the walls (or leave the town by the Porta Moiano) and follow one of the many rough country roads or paths which intersect the fields, keeping the tower of the modern Church of Rivo Torto in view, and steering towards it, an easy and beautiful walk of an hour or an hour and a quarter will bring the visitor to within half-a-mile of the modern Rivo Torto. At this point ask at any of the farmhouses and directions will be readily given to S. Giovanni d'Arce.

Over the altar, Baptism of Christ; on the L. wall, Madonna and Child; below, SS. Sebastian, Rocco, and Anthony of Padua. On the R. wall an Immaculate Conception.

The return walk to the town may be made by way of the small Chapel of S. Masseo, in which there are some interesting Romanesque details. Directions must be asked for from time to time. Farmhouses are numerous, and the visitor may rely on willing courtesy.

The Hermitage of the Carceri

This small convent is built on the sides of Monte Subasio. The path leaves Assisi by the gate at the end of the town farthest from S. Francesco, and from this point one or one and a half hours ought to be allowed for the walk.

Originally a little chapel was built here by the Benedictines, and since the time of Francis a network of small chapels, a few sleeping cells, and a refectory have existed. In the woods round about there are caves associated with the names of the early Franciscans, and to these places they retired for solitary contemplation. Perhaps here more than elsewhere it is possible to realise the daily life of the early Franciscans, and nowhere else is the sense of primitive simplicity so complete.

The visitor enters a small courtyard, in the centre of which is a well said to have been built by S. Bernardino of Siena, the spring itself being the result of a miracle worked by S. Francis. From this court we enter the chapel called

after S. Bernardino ; it is some 21 feet long by 16 feet broad. In it are preserved relics of S. Francis :

1. The tabernacle for the Sacrament used in his time.
2. A chalice of the same period.
3. A pillow used by S. Francis.
4. The cord of Brother Egidio.
5. The cross and hair shirt of S. Francis.

At the end of the chapel are five little stalls, the second of which is traditionally assigned to S. Francis.

From this comparatively large chapel we pass into the Cappella Primitiva. This is said to have been **the first chapel used by S. Francis ;** it has no window, and is only about 12 feet long by 6 feet broad.

To the L., three steps lead up into the choir of S. Bernardino ; round it there are twelve stalls, and besides these there is room for nothing but a reading stand. **The sacristy** which serves for all these chapels is about 6 feet by 4 feet 6 inches, and it is lighted by a window no larger than a pane of glass. At the entrance to the sacristy there is a trap-door, and passing down about fifteen steps the chamber of S. Francis is reached. Like many other parts of the building, it rests on the live rock. The space occupied by the bed is shown. The room measures about 9 feet by 6 feet. Next to this bed space is an **oratory** where S. Francis prayed.

The doors by which these chambers are entered are so small that no ordinary person can stand upright, and the width is strictly in proportion. Outside the oratory is an opening leading down into the gorge below it ; it was by this passage that the devil escaped when he tempted S. Francis and was beaten off by the saint.

Returning to the monastery the small bed-chambers built against the rock may be seen. Below these is the refectory. At the end of one of the tables the place of S. Bernardino is shown. The wooded gorge in which the conventual buildings stand is most picturesque, and the

views over the vale of Spoleto, both from the convent and from the path leading to it, are exceedingly fine.

The Church of S. Damiano

[The Church of S. Damiano is an almost unchanged record of the primitive surroundings amongst which S. Francis and his early followers passed their lives.

The simple chapel with its rough, coarse furniture and the tiny dwelling-rooms attached are just such as they were when Sta. Chiara and the women who followed her example lived here a life of holy poverty. The followers of Francis were not at first divided into orders, and there was no definite organisation. The life which the master himself led was the pattern followed by the disciples, and simple rules were given to them by him to meet the conditions as they arose.

S. Damiano is associated with two momentous experiences in the spiritual life of S. Francis. It was here that he first devoted himself to the service of God, and it was in the work of restoring the ruined church that he made himself equal to the humblest.

During the time when he had become dissatisfied with his way of life, but had not resolved to separate himself from it, he went frequently to pray in the old chapel. While kneeling before a Byzantine crucifix he believed that he heard a voice saying, "Francis, go and restore My Church."

Obeying the command literally, the young man sold some of his father's cloth in the market at Foligno and came back to S. Damiano with the money, which he offered to the priest.

This act was decisive in separating him from his old life, for in order to escape from the anger of his father he left his home and took refuge in the chapel. When summoned by the magistrates of Assisi, at the instance of his father, he replied that as he had become the servant of the Church it was before the ecclesiastical tribunal that he should appear.

The bishop advised him to renounce all that he owned from his parents. Francis, fulfilling the injunction to the letter, stripped off his clothes and laid them at his father's feet, with the words, " Now I can say, ' Our Father, who art in heaven.' "

Soon after this he began the labour of restoring the Chapel of S. Damiano. He went from door to door begging for money or for materials for the building, carrying the stones which were given to him upon his shoulders. The work of restoration was finished about the year 1208. S. Damiano is associated not only with S. Francis but with Sta. Chiara, the first woman who adopted the Franciscan rule.

The chapel had been given to S. Francis by the Benedictine monks of Monte Subasio, and it became the home of Sta. Chiara soon after her act of renunciation in 1212. Within a short time she was joined by a few other women, and they received from S. Francis a rule of life very similar to that which was given to the brethren. S. Francis undertook that he and his followers should supply all the wants of the sisters, either by their labour or by the gathering of alms. In exchange, Sta. Chiara and her companions rendered service to the brethren by tending the sick and by making fair linen cloth for the furnishing of the altars of poor churches.

S. Damiano preserves various records of the life of labour and devotion spent by the " Poor Clares " within its walls, but there is no visible record of the visit which S. Francis paid when he composed the " Canticle of the Sun." It was in 1224 that the saint, on his return from Monte della Vernia, spent some weeks in a little reed hut which Sta. Chiara had built for him in the garden.

Francis was suffering not only in body but also in mind. He was weighed down by illness, his sight was almost gone, and he was burdened with a sense of discouragement. The generalship of the order had been resigned to others two or three years before, and Francis now found himself in continual conflict with the more politic and more worldly

schemes of the leaders. In the garden of S. Damiano, in the midst of the familiar scenes of his first enthusiasm, something of his old fervid joy in living came back to him, and he composed the "Canticle of the Sun." In this song he praises God for the goodness of living, for the sun, moon, stars, water, wind, fire, and earth. We and they are parts of the same creation. They are our helpful brothers and sisters. He thanks God also for His love and mercy, and lastly for His gift of our sister Death.

The author, well pleased with his song, began to lay plans how some of the brethren should be sent out as "Joculatores Domini," minstrels of God, and should sing the praises of the created things everywhere. After having preached and sung he wished that they should say to the people, "All the payment that we want is that you should persevere in penitence."]

The church stands on the slope of the hill about half-a-mile beyond the walls of the town. The approach to the inconspicuous building is by a steep path through an olive garden.

There is a little courtyard in front of the church, and entering it, we see in front of us on the end wall of the building **a damaged fresco** illustrating an incident in the life of **Sta. Chiara.**

In 1234 a body of Saracen troops, led by one of the generals of Frederick II., passed through Umbria, attacking and pillaging the towns as they went. On their way to Assisi they came to the Convent of S. Damiano, and began to assail the building. The soldiers were already mounting the ladders raised against the walls when Sta. Chiara, carrying the Pix containing the Host in front of her, appeared at the little window. Kneeling down she began to sing, "Thou hast rebuked the heathen, Thou hast put out their name for ever and ever." At the sound of her fearless voice the assailants, abashed and discomfited, withdrew from the attack and left both the convent and the city unmolested.

Under the portico, to the R. of the entrance into the

On the hillsides surrounding Assisi there are many field paths and rough country roads which give an opportunity for charming **walks.**

Follow the line of the old wall below the Hotel Subasio and the convent of S. Francesco, cross the bridge, take the well-made road that rapidly rises out of the valley. Above the first houses follow the road to the L.; this gradually becomes a path. It rises steadily and will lead the visitor round the R. shoulder of the hill, covered with olives, oak scrub, and aromatic undergrowth. The views towards Perugia are unimpeded, and they are of great beauty. In returning to Assisi, the convent, the town, and the castle are seen in an unusually picturesque combination.

Another equally fine walk may be taken by turning to the R. after crossing the bridge mentioned in the previous note, and climbing the hill by paths passing a number of farmhouses. At the top of the hill there is a farm and a small chapel. The view is extensive and very interesting.

From S. Damiano and the S.-W. end of the town many beautiful paths may be followed in the direction of Spello.

The Church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli and the Porziuncola

The Church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, which forms such an imposing feature in the Vale of Spoleto, is only a few minutes' walk from the station at Assisi.

Under the great dome are two buildings of supreme interest in the history of S. Francis, viz., the chapel of the Porziuncola, or the "little portion," and the cell in which the saint died.

According to tradition the **Chapel of the Porziuncola** was originally built by four pilgrims, so that they might place in it a relic of the tomb of the Virgin which had been given to them by S. Cyril of Jerusalem. This first chapel of the pilgrims is supposed to have been built in A.D. 352, and its name, S. Mary of the Angels, has been attributed

to the picture which they caused to be painted in it—an Assumption of the Virgin surrounded by angels.

Another account is that the name arose because the songs of angels were often heard in the place, and especially on the night of the birth of S. Francis, 26th September 1182.

In 516 S. Benedict found the first sanctuary abandoned, and he is said to have rebuilt it for some brethren of his order. According to some accounts it received the name of Porziuncola, or "little portion," as being so small and unimportant among the Benedictine foundations.

After the restoration of S. Damiano Francis began to work on the Chapel of the Porziuncola, and when the brethren increased in number he begged the Abbot of Monte Subasio to let him have it, so that there might be a place in which the brethren could say the office.

In so far as such an one could be said to have a home, the neighbourhood of the Porziuncola was the home of Francis, and he always desired that this chapel should be a pattern in its poverty for all the other places of the brethren.

The Life of S. Francis at Sta. Maria degli Angeli. The earliest disciple that S. Francis had was Bernard of Quintavalle, and it is told in the *Fioretti* how their first act of companionship, after hearing Mass together, was to open the missal and take counsel from the passages they found.

Three times this was done, and their rule of life was founded on the three messages: "If thou wilt be perfect go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor"; "Take nothing for your journey, neither stave nor scrip, neither bread neither money"; and lastly, "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow Me." On this "firm rock of the exceeding great humility and poverty of the Son of God" was built the fabric of the Franciscan order. The character of S. Francis was too simple, too direct, and too shrewd to allow him to bring this teaching into conformity with the ordinary methods of mankind. He accepted the sayings in their plain and literal meaning, and whatever stood in the way

of their realisation he put away from him. Property meant servitude to material things; it caused a diversion of energy from the true aim of life; it brought with it temptation to covetousness and avarice; it was a hindrance to that true liberty of soul in which alone the spiritual life can thrive.

Learning was even more dangerous than riches. In getting knowledge mind and body were tempted beyond the way of humility; dependence on the understanding, even if it were of Scripture, would in time of trial lead only to coldness and emptiness. The body also was a source of temptation. Superfluity of food was a hindrance to body and soul; and, on the other hand, too much abstinence was a temptation into which S. Francis admitted he had himself fallen.

Patient and loving endurance of wrong, an obedience "wherein flesh and blood have naught of their own," poverty that leaves the soul a true spiritual freedom, and humility leading to the knowledge and understanding of God, such were the means by which S. Francis strove to imitate the life of Christ.

He never shrank from his fellow-men, he did not fear contact with the world, he only desired to strip life of all that obscures the real aim in living.

Many brethren joined S. Francis, although few followed him. From the first difficulties arose: some found the rule too severe, and others who felt a true vocation could not reconcile the strongly developed personality of the religion of S. Francis with the claims of the hierarchy and the system of the Church. Yet he was always ready to be in subjection to the clergy. He refused to ask for a privilege to preach, he bade his followers wait in humility until they were called; and in regard to doctrine he was a faithful son of the Church.

But a man who would take no thought for the morrow, who would own neither breviary nor psalter, who rejected learning, and begged his daily bread, who refused to accept the rule of S. Benedict, or S. Augustine, or S. Bernard, and

who would follow only the way that had been shown to him by the Lord, must have been a severe trial to the faith of politicians and churchmen like Innocent III. and the Cardinal Ugolino. The latter, who became Pope as Gregory IX., was deeply touched by the spirituality and simplicity of S. Francis, nevertheless he spared no pains to bring the brethren within the influence and order of ecclesiastical authority.

It was in the Chapel of the Porziuncola that **the second order** of the Franciscans originated in the dedication of **Sta. Chiara.** Having been touched by the preaching of Francis, she left her father's house, and in the Holy Week of 1212 she was received by him in the little chapel. Her hair was cut off, and she gave herself as a servant of the poor.

Years afterwards, desiring to eat with Francis, Sta. Chiara met her spiritual father in front of the Porziuncola, and for the first beginning of refreshment, Francis spoke of God with such sweetness and so marvellously that they were wrapt in contemplation. A sign of the presence of the Spirit was given to the people of the country, who saw Sta. Maria degli Angeli, and the dwelling-place of the brethren and the wood about it, all in flames. The spot is marked by a pillar near the cell where S. Francis died.

Once again the story of Sta. Chiara is concerned with the Porziuncola. At the season of Christmas she was sick and not able to go to office in the church at S. Damiano, and by the will of Christ she was miraculously carried to the chapel of the brethren, where she was present at Matins and received Communion, and was borne back to her bed.

When the Abbot of Monte Subasio granted the chapel to Francis, he made it a condition that it should be the head place of the order, and it was here that the **General Chapters** were held.

On one famous occasion five thousand brethren were gathered, those of the different provinces each having their places. The writer of the *Fioretti* describes them as spending their time in reasoning of God, in prayer,

and in works of charity. They said the office, they lamented their sins, they discoursed of the salvation of the soul. And all was done in such silence and with so much discretion that there was no noise. When the Cardinal Ugolino saw the gathering, he said, "Truly this is the camp and the army of the Cavaliers of God." S. Francis bade that none should take heed for food, and the people of the country brought all that they had need of. S. Dominic, who was there, knelt before Francis and confessed and repented, inasmuch as he had judged hardly concerning the carelessness for the food of so many people, and he took for himself and his brethren the rule of Holy Poverty.

There was, however, another side to the picture, which we find in the "Mirror of Perfection." Speaking of what was probably the same Chapter, the writer says that some of the brethren urged the Cardinal to the end that Francis should follow the counsel of the wiser brethren, and that they should live according to the rule of S. Benedict or S. Augustine. When the Cardinal admonished Francis, he answered, "The Lord hath called me by the way of simplicity and humility, and this way hath He pointed out to me in truth for myself, and for them that are willing to believe me and to imitate me . . ." (See "Mirror of Perfection," 68).

Some years after this Francis with his brethren came back from Monte della Vernia, where he had seen the vision of the Crucified One. As they came near to the place Brother Leo saw a cross going before S. Francis. When he rested it rested, and when he went on it went with him, and from it there shone on the face of Francis a bright light, and the vision was with him till they entered the place of the brethren at Sta. Maria degli Angeli.

The present Church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli was built from designs by Vignola, and the first stone was laid in 1569. It covers two buildings, the Porziuncola and the cell in which S. Francis died.

The visitor is generally taken in the first place to the

Sacristy. The walls of this room are panelled with carved woodwork of the sixteenth century, and in one corner there is a design intended to represent the Sepulchre at Jerusalem. There is a small half-length figure of Christ by *Perugino*, and there are two small paintings by *Guido Reni*. From the sacristy a short passage leads to the Chapel of S. Carlo Borromeo. Here there is a rude picture of S. Francis, attributed to *Giunta Pisano* ; it is painted on a piece of wood which is said to have formed part of the bed of S. Francis.

From the Chapel of S. Carlo Borromeo we pass along an arcade to a space of open garden ground ; on the L. grow the roses of S. Francis.

The miracle of the roses happened in January. S. Francis had suffered much from temptation, and so that the flesh might be subdued, he went out and rolled among thorns and briars. Suddenly they burst out into flower, and ever since they have grown without thorns. Two angels led him back to the altar, where he had a vision of Christ and Madonna seated on their throne in heaven among many angels. His prayer was heard, and indulgence is granted to those who are truly penitent and who visit the church.

From this garden the visitor enters the **Chapel of the Roses.** The inner part, which covers the grotto where Francis lived, was built by S. Bonaventura ; the outer part was built by S. Bernardino. The whole contains frescoes painted by *Tiberio d'Assisi*, and though the pictures are not remarkable works of art, they harmonise with their surroundings.

The frescoes on the R. in the Chapel of S. Bernardino are :

1. S. Francis rolls in the thorns ; two angels appear to him.

2. S. Francis is led by two angels back to the church.

The pictures on the L. are :

3. S. Francis prays to Christ for an indulgence.

4. S. Francis presents roses at the altar, and sees a vision of Christ and Madonna.

5. The indulgence is confirmed by Honorius III.

6. S. Francis, accompanied by seven bishops, preaches the indulgence.

In the Chapel of S. Bonaventura, which is built over the grotto, *Tiberio* has painted S. Francis with twelve disciples. The altar is dedicated in the names of five Franciscans who suffered in Morocco. While the martyrdom was taking place it was miraculously revealed to S. Francis as he knelt in prayer.

In the grotto below the altar, where S Francis prayed, there are preserved two logs, part of the pulpit from which S. Francis preached the indulgence.

The visitor now re-enters the church. In the **choir,** to the L., is a door leading to a small choir, where a pulpit of S. Bernardino is preserved. Near this entrance, in the choir itself, is an elaborate sixteenth-century **pulpit,** with confessionals for various languages below.

Round the pulpit the following subjects are carved :—

1. S. Francis rolls in the thorns.

2. S. Francis and seven bishops preach the indulgence.

3. S. Francis, when he presents the roses, sees the vision of Christ.

4. Honorius III. confirms the indulgence.

5. S. Francis descends into Purgatory to release the souls of brethren who are suffering.

6. Death of S. Francis.

To the R. of the choir, opposite to this pulpit, is **the room in which S. Francis died.** On the outside is a panel painted by *Giunta Pisano* ; it is said to have been part of the wooden cover which was over the body when it was carried up to Assisi. On the altar is **a figure of the saint,** worked by *Luca della Robbia* from a mask taken from the face of S. Francis.

On the walls are frescoes by *Lo Spagna* representing the twelve first disciples and six other famous Franciscans. In a tabernacle to the R. of the entrance is preserved the

Photograph: Brogi

MADONNA AND CHILD

(By Luca della Robbia. In the Bargello at Florence)

Compare with the della Robbia relief at S. Maria degli Angeli, Assisi

cord of S. Francis marked with blood when he received the Stigmata, and also a piece of the habit of S. Bonaventura.

In the chapel of the relics, to the R. of the entrance into the sacristy, is a crucifix by *Giunta Pisano.*

In a chapel to the L. of the nave is a fine piece of Della Robbia ware. The centre of the composition is a Coronation of the Virgin. To the L. S. Francis receives the Stigmata, and to the R. S. Jerome has a vision of Christ on the cross. In the predella there is (1) an Annunciation, (2) the Nativity, (3) the Adoration of the Magi.

The Chapel of the Porziuncola itself stands under the great dome of the church. The fresco over the entrance door is a mannered picture by *Overbeck,* representing Christ and Madonna in heaven surrounded by angels. In a corresponding position on the east end of the chapel is a fresco by *Perugino,* restored in modern times. We see the uprights of two crosses, but no actual crucifixion. Madonna is supported by attendants, S. Mary Magdalene looks upwards, and S. Francis kneels and clings to the foot of the cross.

On the R. wall of the chapel, on the outside, there are remains of a fresco and an inscription to the memory of Pietro di Catani, who died in 1221. So many miracles were worked by its virtues that Francis ordered that no more should be done, and after that its power ceased.

The altar front is part of a ninth-century screen with crosses and foliage on which birds feed, all set in arcading carved with running scrolls.

IV

SMALLER UMBRIAN TOWNS

MONTEFALCO

THE small town of Montefalco may be reached by driving from Foligno, from Spoleto, or from Assisi. It is on the top of a hill, and in all directions there are lovely views of the Umbrian valleys, which make it well worth a visit, apart from its artistic interest.

The origin of Montefalco is uncertain, no definite history exists before the thirteenth century. The town was then under the domination of the Church, and ruled itself by twelve magistrates. During the period of the supremacy of the Trinci family at Foligno, Montefalco fell into their hands and was ruled by them as vicars-general of the Church. With the fall of the Trinci in 1435, the Rocca was destroyed by Pope Eugenius IV., and the lordship given to Count Stacciola. The commune continued to rule itself by its own magistrates or by a Podestà chosen by the people under the protection of the Holy See, until 1860, when Umbria was annexed to the kingdom of Victor Emanuele II.

The town is surrounded with walls, has a Palazzo del Comune with important archives and several churches.

The principal pictures are now gathered together in the Church of **S. Francesco,** which is virtually the town museum. In the choir *Benozzo Gozzoli* painted a series of pictures of the life of S. Francis about the year 1452. Benozzo is interesting as having been the pupil or assistant of Fra Angelico, and also as having influenced several Umbrian

painters, such as Bonfigli, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, and Niccolo da Foligno. The colour of these frescoes is bright and cheerful, and there is a simple, almost childlike, realism throughout. The necessary figures are set down plainly, the supposed action is described simply, and a suitable background is provided. There is no exaggeration in the expression of feeling, nor is there any imagination. The whole is a moderately competent piece of craftsmanship. The story of the **life of S. Francis** begins at the lower left-hand corner.

(Plan XVI., p. 250) No. 1. Francis is born in a stable; the ox and the ass are in the background.

No. 2. A pilgrim prophesies concerning Francis. A poor man spreads his cloak for Francis to walk upon.

No. 3. Francis meets a poor nobleman and gives him his cloak.

No. 4. Francis dreams and sees the vision of a palace decked with flags and coats-of-arms. Christ appears to him and tells him that the palace is for him and his warriors.

No. 5. Francis renounces his family and the world; the Bishop covers him with his robe.

No. 6. Pope Innocent III. dreams that he sees the Church of S. John Lateran supported by a poor man.

No. 7. Innocent III. approves the rule. Benozzo has succeeded here in drawing a distinction between the worldly shrewdness of the Cardinals and the rapt devotion of Francis.

No. 8. The devils are exorcised from the town of Arezzo. The figures of the two brethren, Francis in prayer and Silvestro commanding the devils, are good.

No. 9. Francis preaches to the birds near Bevagna. He speaks with conviction and fervour; the brother who accompanies him is lost in amazement. In the background is Monte Subasio, with Assisi in the distance.

No. 10. Francis blesses the people of Montefalco.

No. 11. Death of the Lord of Celano.

No. 12. Meeting of Francis and Dominic. To the L.

Photograph: Alinari

ANGELS

(From the fresco by Benozzo Gozzoli in the Chapel of the Riccardi Palace, Florence)

Compare with the frescoes by Benozzo Gozzoli in S. Francesco at Montefalco

the Virgin kneels before Christ. She shows the deeds of Francis to Christ, and He bears the lance with which the wounds of the Stigmata are to be given.

No. 13. Francis before the Soldan. Francis stands in the fire with the Cross in one hand and the other raised. Two wise men look on in fear, and with an air of indignant protest. Benozzo has painted aloes in the background as being suitable to an Eastern land, but he does not forget his own Florentine cypresses.

No. 14. The Presepio. Francis folds the Child tenderly in his arms and presses his lips to the Child's face. The ox and the ass lie under a low shed in the church. The architectural background shows the application of Renaissance detail to a Gothic interior.

No. 15. Francis receives the Stigmata.

No. 16. The dead body is examined, and the facts of the Stigmata are verified.

No. 17. S. Francis in Glory.

No. 18. S. Anthony of Padua.

No. 19. S. Louis the Archbishop. The crown he has refused lies at his feet.

No. 20. S. Catherine (probably of Siena). She wears a grey robe and black hood, and bears a lily.

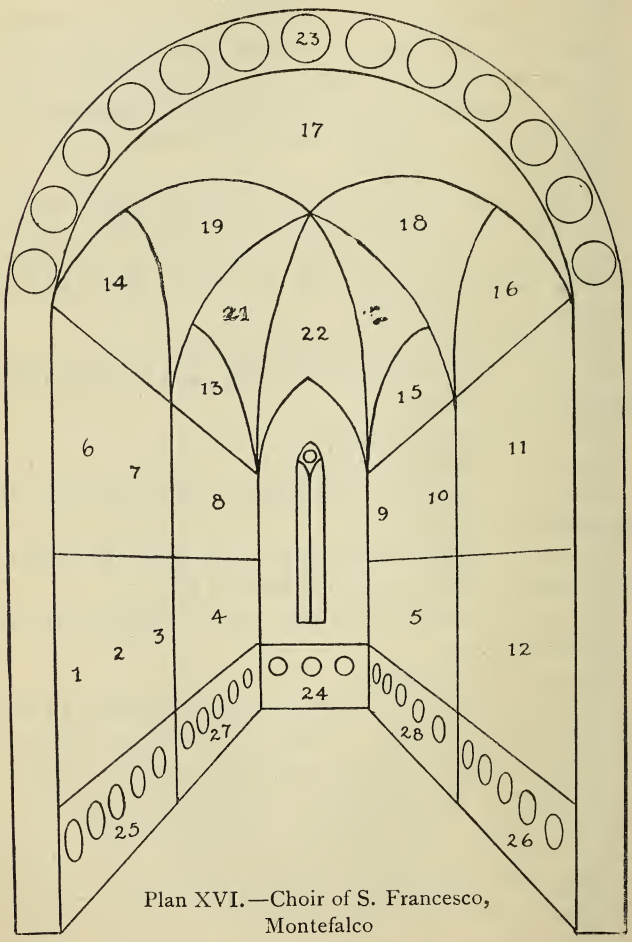
No. 21. Sta. Rosa of Viterbo. She is crowned, and has a lap full of roses.

No. 22. S. Bernardino.

No. 23. Round the arch of the choir are painted Francis and his twelve disciples. There is no doubt an intention to honour the first disciples, and also a desire to remind worshippers of the conformity of the life of Francis with that of Christ. The author of the *Fioretti* says: "For since S. Francis, the true servant of Christ, was in certain things given to the world for the salvation of men, therefore God the Father made him conformed to, and like His Son in many acts."

On the walls of the choir, below the story of S. Francis, there is a series of pictures representing men held in honour by the brethren.

No. 24. The central figure is Dante; to his R. is Giotto, and to his L. Petrarch.



Plan XVI.—Choir of S. Francesco, Montefalco

Nos. 25 and 26. Figures of Popes, of the Emperor Constantine, King Robert of Naples, Cardinals and Doctors.

Nos. 27 and 28. Figures of brethren and others, including John of Parma and Nicholas of Lira.

In the *chapel to the left* of the choir there are frescoes in the style of the Giotteschi.

On the L. is a Crucifixion; on the R., Descent into Hades and "Noli me tangere."

In the *chapel to the right* of the choir there is, to the L., a Crucifixion and S. Catherine of Alexandria, and on the R., Madonna and Child and an Entombment.

In the **nave** begin with the R. aisle at the west end next the entrance.

First bay. Madonna and Child with SS. Jerome, Anthony of Padua, John the Baptist, and Louis, painted in fresco by *Benozzo Gozzoli* and dated 1452. Above are medallions with the four Evangelists, also the Crucifixion and the four Doctors, and on the underside of the arch opening into the nave angels by *Benozzo Gozzoli.*

Second bay. On the wall, Miracles of S. Bernardino, school of Niccolo Alunno. On the soffit of the arch, Madonna and Child and saints (fifteenth century).

Third bay. The soul of a dead person, pictured as a child in white clothes, is attacked by the devil, who is driven off by Madonna, dated 1510.

Fourth bay. Crucifix ascribed to *Margaritone,* in which the physical suffering is accentuated. On the roof are the four Evangelists, the four Doctors, and busts of the Prophets, ascribed to the school of Nelli.

Fifth bay. Fresco by *Tiberio d'Assisi.* On the roof and on the soffit of the entrance arch, Acts of S. Antonio Abbate, fourteenth century.

Sixth bay. On the roof, Christ and the four Evangelists, locally ascribed to Giotto.

At the end of the R. aisle there is a small vaulted room with a collection of architectural fragments, coats-of-arms, etc.

On the *piers* facing into the nave on the R. side of the church:

First pier. Coronation of the Virgin, of the fifteenth century.

Second pier. Scenes from the life of Christ, ascribed to the school of Niccolo Alunno.

Third pier. SS. Vincentius, Illuminata, and Niccolo, ascribed to *Lo Spagna*.

Fourth pier. Madonna and Child.

Fifth pier. Crucifixion carving in wood with painted background, Madonna, SS. John Baptist, Magdalene, and Francis, ascribed to *Niccolo Alunno*.

On a screen a Gonfalone, Madonna and Child with saints, by *Melanzio*.

On the **left side** of the church, beginning at the west end next the extrance:

In the chapel close to the entrance, large fresco by *Perugino*. In the lower part of the picture there is a Nativity, in which the Child resting on the ground is adored by Madonna, Joseph, and the Shepherds. The pillars supporting the roof of the stable are of elaborate Renaissance design. There is a lovely landscape in the background. In the lunette above is the Father Eternal in a heavy almond-shaped glory with angels adoring.

Madonna and Child with S. Andrew and a Bishop, by *Tiberio d'Assisi*.

S. Anthony of Padua drives out the devil from a man and joins the leg of a man to the stump, ascribed to Lorenzo di Viterbo.

Pass out of the chapel and along the L. wall of the church.

Two fragments by *Melanzio*. Panel of 1488, SS. Sebastian, Fortunato, Severo and Chiara, of Montefalco. Panel, Madonna and Child with SS. Peter, Paul, Sebastian, and a mendicant, by *Melanzio*. Gonfalone, Madonna drives off the devil. On a stand, close to the L. of the choir, Madonna and Child.

In the piazza, a few minutes walk from S. Francesco, there is a chapel, **S. Maria della Piazza**; it contains a large picture by the local painter *Melanzio*. Madonna and

Child with SS. Gregory, Jerome, Fortunato, and Severo. Madonna is said to be a portrait of Melanzio's wife, and S. Severo is said to be a portrait of himself.

Close to the Porta di S. Bartolommeo, in the apse of the church of that name, there is a window with some interesting remains of Romanesque carving.

S. Chiara. In a chapel to the L. of the choir there are frescoes dated in 1333. Over the altar is a Crucifixion, there is a characteristic group of Jews to the R. On the side wall Christ appears in a mandorla, SS. Augustine and Catherine of Alexandria present followers. Beneath, an angel announces her martyrdom to S. Catherine, Death of S. Chiara of Montefalco. On the wall to the R., Madonna and Child with angels; beneath, the Bearing of the Cross. On the roof of the chapel, the four Evangelists.

S. Illuminata. This church contains a number of frescoes in poor condition, ascribed to *Melanzio*.

To the L.

First bay, next the altar, Madonna and Child.

Second bay. Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Flight into Egypt; in the semi-dome, Angels sing the *Gloria in excelsis*.

Third bay. Madonna and Child; to the L., SS. Anthony of Padua, Sebastian, Rocco, and a bishop; to the R., S. Catherine of Alexandria and three other saintly women; in the semi-dome, putti showering down flowers from meadows full of blossom.

To the R.

First bay, nearest to the altar, Madonna and Child with SS. Lorenzo and Sebastian; to the L., SS. Jerome and Anthony the Abbot; to the R., in the semi-dome, the Resurrection of Christ.

Second bay. Assumption of the Virgin; to the R., a Bishop and perhaps S. Ansano; to the L., S. Agatha and a Bishop. In the semi-dome, Coronation of the Virgin.

Third bay. Martyrdom, probably of S. Catherine; to the L., S. Jerome; to the R., SS. John Baptist and

Niccolo of Tolentino. In the semi-dome, the Father Eternal.

A short distance from the gate and near to the road leading to Spoleto is the Monastery and Church of **S. Fortunato.**

In the church there are some remains of pictures by *Benozzo Gozzoli.*

In the cloister there is the Chapel of the Rosary, painted by *Tiberio d'Assisi.*

1. S. Francis rolls among the thorns; an angel turns them into roses.
2. S. Francis, attended by angels, carries the roses, and
3. Lays them on the altar.
4. S. Francis gives the roses to the Pope.
5. Publication of the Canonisation of S. Francis (?).

Behind the monastery, in the garden which gradually passes into a wild shrubbery of ilex, there is the grotto where S. Fortunato lived.

Bevagna

The excursion from Assisi to Montefalco may be planned so as to include, either in going or returning, the Roman site of Mevagna now occupied by the small town of Bevagna.

Mevagna, situated on the bank of the River Timia and on the Via Flaminia, appears to have been an important centre in Roman times. Twice during the mediæval period the town was almost entirely destroyed. After the sack carried out by the Conte d'Aquino (the grandfather of S. Thomas Aquinas and Captain of Frederick II.), the scattered inhabitants were gathered together by the Blessed Giacomo, their fellow-citizen. The second destruction was the work of Corrado Trinci in the fifteenth century. Bevagna throughout her history was always more or less under the control of the Holy See, but the

citizens had the right of ruling themselves by their own magistrates.

The piazza is a striking example of the dignified tradition which endows even the simplest Italian population with the apparatus of a stately and ordered life. The picturesque mediæval pile of communal buildings, with two-light pointed windows and slender columns, is now used partly as a theatre. In the hall is a collection of Roman inscriptions and fragments of sculpture. At one side is the unused Church of S. Sylvestro, with good Romanesque detail; a stone on the west front records the architect Binellus, and the date 1195. Opposite is the Church of S. Michele, with a charming string course and a noteworthy doorway, both of characteristic Romanesque design. At the side of the door are the names of the architects Rodulfus and Binellus.

In the Church of the Beato Giacomo, a building of the fourteenth century with a fresco of the Sienese school on the façade, there is the tomb of the Beato Giacomo who died in 1301.

SPELLO

Spello stands on the site of a Roman colony of which many traces remain. During the early Middle Ages the town passed into the dominion of the Church, and the citizens early in the thirteenth century sought the alliance and protection of Perugia. In 1449 Pope Nicholas V. gave the town in feud to Nello Baglioni of Perugia, and the walls and towers were dismantled during the contest between the Perugians and Pope Paul III. On the extinction of the Baglioni family Spello returned to her former dependence upon the Church.

The main entrance is through a Roman **gateway.** The mediæval walls contain many fragments of ancient building, and considerable remains of an **amphitheatre** are seen not far from the gate on the road to Assisi.

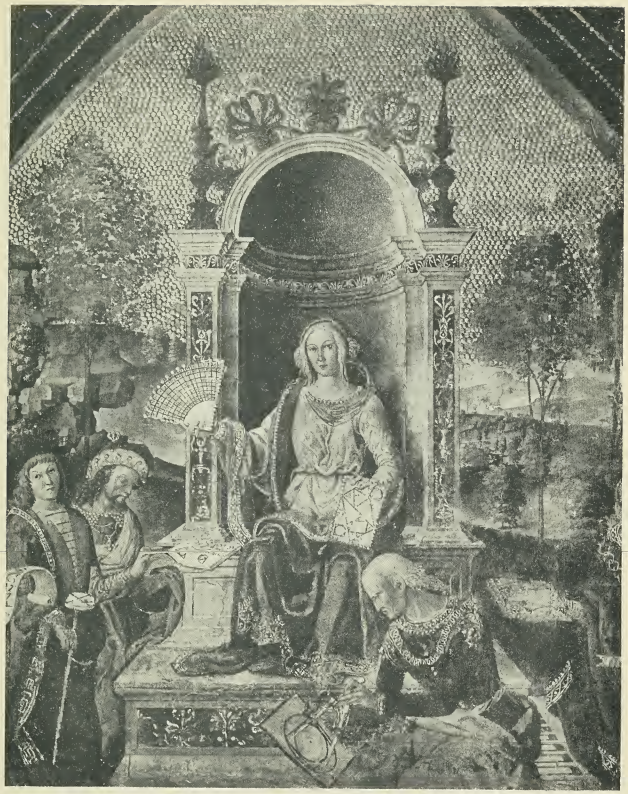
The principal monument is the **Duomo,** standing in a

small piazza to the R. of the main street a few minutes' walk from the gate.

The western façade has a single doorway, with sculptured reliefs upon the jambs and lintels. On the jambs there is the familiar Romanesque design of a vine with animals, etc., among the branches. The lintel is composed of a number of fragments, including sculptures of a dog chasing a stag, an eagle devouring a hare, and two lions fighting.

Passing to the interior there is, *on the left side of the nave*, the Baglioni chapel, in which *Pinturicchio* painted three large frescoes. On the L. wall is the Annunciation, on the wall facing the visitor is the Nativity, and on the R. wall Christ among the Doctors. The general design is striking and highly decorative. 1. The Annunciation. The angel is a remarkable presentment, the painter has had a genuine inspiration, and this work would warrant us in placing Pinturicchio in a high position among contemporary Umbrian artists. Madonna is a simple figure disturbed in her reading by the appearance of the angel. 2. The Nativity includes an Adoration of the shepherds; one brings an offering of eggs, and another a sheep. In the background the three kings arrive. The landscape is not designed with the fine insight of Perugino. Two angels kneel beside the infant, one of them bearing the figure of the cross. 3. Christ among the Doctors forms a striking picture. In the background is a temple, and from it there is a broad walk in the centre of which stands the Child. On each side are groups of Jews; some of them have thrown down their books in despair. On the roof of the chapel are painted four sibyls, those of Erythræa and Europa, and of Tivoli and Samos. These prophetesses each have their traditional mission, but the inscriptions are too much damaged to enable us to say what significance may have been attached to them here.

Two inferior pictures of the Umbrian school, a Pietà on the L. and Madonna and Child to the R., are on the piers at the entrance of the choir. In the sacristy there is a small Madonna and Child attributed to Pinturicchio.



Photograph: Anderson

"GEOMETRY"

(From the Hall of the Liberal Arts, Vatican. Rome)

Compare with the frescoes by Pinturicchio in the Duomo, Spello

Over the altar is a spacious Ciborium of Renaissance design.

S. Andrea. A little higher than the Duomo, in the main street of the town, is the Church of S. Andrea. In the southern transept there is a large altar-piece attributed to Pinturicchio.

A chapel near the western entrance is covered with frescoes in a poor state of preservation.

S. Girolamo is an interesting church outside the walls. The main street should be followed up to the gate at the high part of the town ; from this point a pleasant walk among olive-trees leads to the church. The view looking down over the Vale of Spoleto is particularly fine. The loggia in front of the church contains some frescoes showing incidents in the history of S. Francis.

1. The Bishop covers Francis when he renounces his father.

2. Francis receives the Stigmata.

3. The preaching of the Indulgence.

Within the church, at the back of the high altar, there is an unpretending Umbrian picture representing the Sposalizio.

The pictures at S. Girolamo are of no great moment, but a couple of hours is well spent in a visit to this beautiful spot. A return path leads under the shade of the olives to the entrance gate of the town.

Recent discoveries in Spello have been made by Dr Gnoli. The frescoes represent half-length figures of the Apostles, two are attributed to Niccolo Alunno. Travellers should make inquiry locally.

FOLIGNO

Foligno was a city (Fulginium) in the times of the Roman Republic, situated on the Via Flaminia. It stands on the L. bank of the River Topino and is surrounded by walls.

During the early Middle Ages the town suffered from

destructive attacks by the Visigoths 412, the Vandals 452, the Huns 453. In the sixth century it became part of the Duchy of Spoleto and was ruled by a lieutenant.

Under Innocent III. (1198 to 1216) the town passed directly under the influence of the Church.

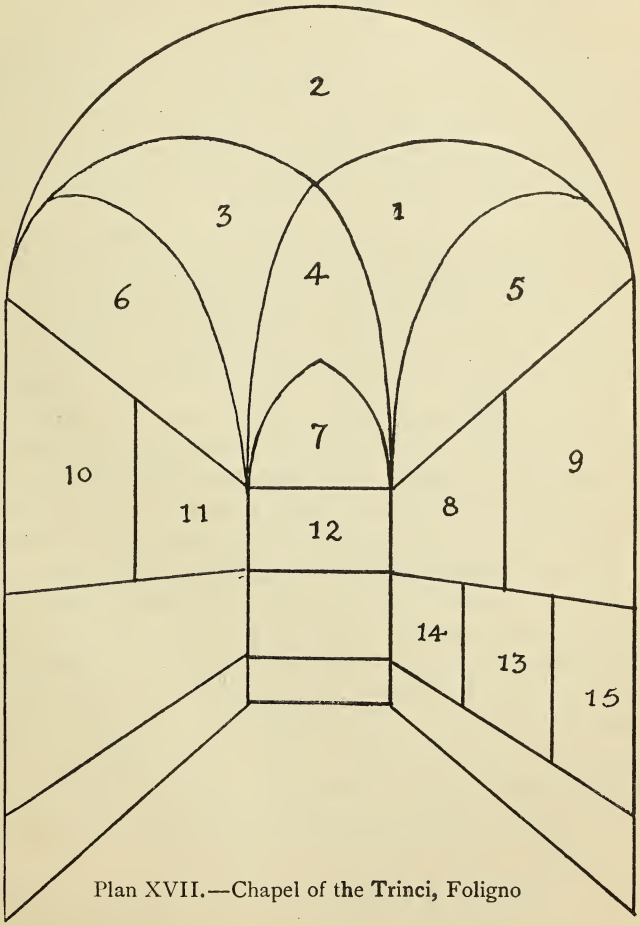
The citizens were not always consistently loyal to the Guelph side. In the thirteenth century the town more than once fell into the hands of the Imperialists. In 1227 Frederick II. appointed Tommaso d'Aquino, the grandfather of S. Thomas, to be his captain-general in Foligno. The two ruling families in the town were the Trinci, the chiefs of the Guelph party, and the Anastasi, who were in power as Gonfalonieri of Justice from about 1264 to 1305. The Trinci who succeeded, ruled always by and with the goodwill of the Popes, and when Conrad, about the year 1435, quarrelled with Eugenius IV., he was expelled. After this Foligno was ruled by rectors nominated by the Pope. In 1490 Innocent VIII. appointed his own brother, Maurizio Cibo, as Governor of Spoleto, Assisi, and Foligno.

The **Palazzo del Governo**, formerly the Trinci Palace, is a building of the fourteenth century. It passed into the hands of the commune in 1439. In 1424 Corrado Trinci commissioned *Ottaviano Nelli* to paint the frescoes of the chapel. The walls and roof are covered with pictures. (See Plan XVII., p. 259.)

(1.) Joachim and Anna make their offerings in the Temple. (2.) An angel appears to Joachim in the desert and to Anna in the house, bidding them to meet each other at the Golden Gate in Jerusalem. (3.) The meeting of Joachim and Anna. (4.) The Nativity of the Virgin. (5.) The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. (6.) The Sposalizio. (7.) The Annunciation. (8.) The Nativity of Christ. (9.) The Adoration of the Magi. (10.) The Apostles visit Madonna before they set out to preach. (11.) The Apostles are recalled miraculously to witness the death of the Virgin. (12.) Death of Madonna. Her soul is carried to heaven in the arms of Christ.

Frescoes not shown in the plan include the Presentation

of the Child in the Temple and the Annunciation to Madonna of her approaching death by an angel. Apart from this series there is—(13.) The Crucifixion. (14.) SS. John



Plan XVII.—Chapel of the Trinci, Foligno

the Baptist, Anthony, and Dominic. (15.) Francis receives the Stigmata. These frescoes have little except a certain effect of colour to recommend them. They show

how entirely the painter remained outside the powerful influences that were moving contemporary artists in other parts of Italy.

In an antechamber are a number of frescoes by some artist of the school of *Gentile da Fabriano*. They represent scenes of the mythological origin of Rome connected with the Vestal Virgin Rea Silvia, and the birth of the twins Romulus and Remus. In the Great Salone above, reached by a staircase, are a number of Roman heroes painted in niches and surrounded with decorative arms and emblems.

On the south side of the piazza is the **Palazzo Comunale,** containing a small museum. In the room to the L. are choral books, codexes, coins, and embroideries. In the corridor are a number of fragments of Roman inscriptions and mosaics, also urns. There are also a few Umbrian pictures. A large fresco of Christ crucified, Madonna and Child, dated 1449, school of Foligno. Madonna with angels, work of *Mezzastris* of Foligno. S. Augustine preaching. Madonna and Child with a nun, by an imitator of *Alunno,* 1491. Large fresco by *Dono Doni*. Madonna and saints, by *Mezzastris,* and Madonna between S. Francis and S. John, by *Mezzastris*.

In the desecrated **Church of the Annunziata** there is a Baptism by *Perugino*. It can only be seen under unfavourable conditions, and has been a good deal damaged. It is not a good example of the painter : the vapid sentiment which seems to have been his constant temptation has here completely mastered him. In the semi-dome the Father Eternal sits holding a globe. Below is the scene of the Baptism. Besides the usual attendant angels there are a number of cherub heads and two angels in adoration in the air.

In the **Church of S. Niccolo** there are two paintings by Niccolo di Liberatore, known also as *Niccolo da Foligno* or *Niccolo Alunno*. This painter lived from 1430 to 1502. He was a pupil of Benozzo Gozzoli and a fellow-student with Bonfigli (1425-1496). Niccolo paints as a man of

eager temperament and strong emotion. He does not reach any elevated range of thought or feeling, but his appeal is of a more fundamental kind than is usual among Umbrian masters of the fifteenth century. The altar-piece in the second chapel to the R. is an immense picture built up of many pieces, set in a gorgeous framing. The central scene is the Adoration of the Infant. The figure of the Virgin is natural and pleasing. In the middle distance the shepherds hurry along to join the group, and in the background are the three kings, riding through a formal landscape. Above this part of the picture Christ rises from the tomb. The witnesses of these mysteries are, *to the left*, SS. Sebastian and Nicholas, Sta. Chiara and S. John the Baptist, a Pope, and another saint. *To the right*, SS. Michael and John the Evangelist, S. Jerome, and perhaps S. Nicholas of Tolentino, and two others, probably bishops.

In the same church is another picture by Niccolo. In the upper part Christ crowns Madonna. They are surrounded by a formal and ungraceful glory of cherubs and child-angels. S. Anthony and S. Bernardino of Siena look up in adoring wonder. In the background is an Umbrian landscape, more formal and less beautiful than those of Perugino.

In the Church of **Sta. Maria Infra Portas** there are remains of a number of frescoes, many of them attributed to Mezzastris. The general aspect of the church is pleasant and the porch is picturesque.

The building is said to date from the seventh century, and has been many times restored. In a chapel near to the entrance are remains of frescoes, probably of the twelfth century, in the Italo-Byzantine style. They represent S. Michael, the Good Thief, and Christ between Peter and Paul.

The Duomo is an ancient building whose primitive Romanesque character has suffered much alteration. The principal façade is towards the smaller piazza. It was rebuilt in 1113. The entrance on the large piazza has

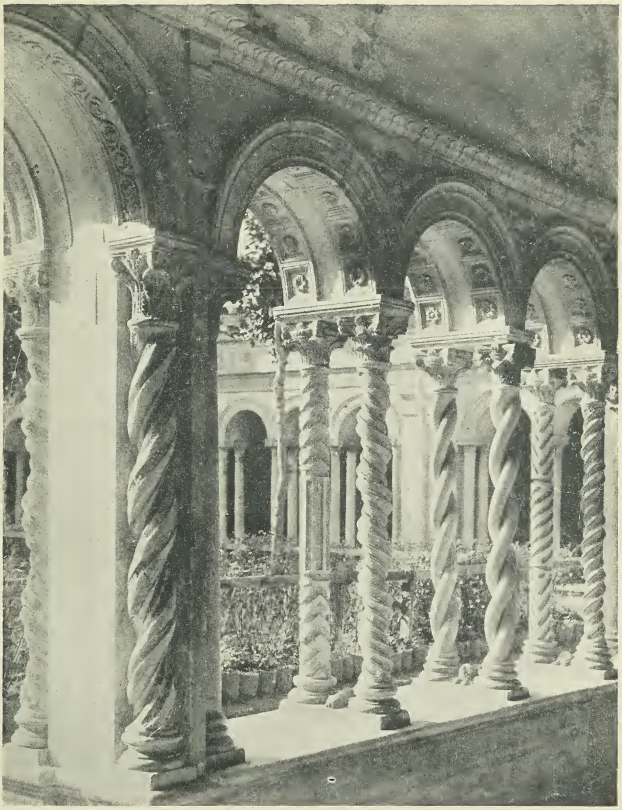
three doorways. The central one is of red marble, with lions at the foot of the jambs. Round the arch are sculptured the signs of the Zodiac (not in their right order), and the four symbols of the Evangelists.

In the canonica there are a few pictures and statuettes. Under the nave there is an unusually large crypt.

The Benedictine Abbey of Sasso Vivo lies among the hills about one and a half hours from Foligno (five kilometres). The excursion is well worth the time involved. Inquiry should be made in Foligno about the key of the church. For about three-quarters of an hour it is possible to follow a rough road in a carriage. After that there is a good hill path, and in about forty minutes the monastery is reached. The lower slopes are covered with olives, and as the path winds up the mountain-side it is shaded in many places by fine oak-trees. From the projecting spur upon which the Abbey stands there is a magnificent view. The building is impressive. At one end rises the church with a low campanile, and from it stretches a long and almost unbroken curtain of masonry, behind which lie the conventual buildings. The ground on three sides falls steeply to the torrent far below. The buildings are now used by a farmer, and within the gates there is a scene of miserable squalor. **The church and cloister,** however, remain unharmed, and it is the latter which forms the interest of the place.

The monastery was founded by Benedictine monks in 1066, and in the fourteenth century it was at the height of its power, importance, and wealth. It was suppressed by Innocent VIII. It causes a shock of surprise, after climbing about the neglected and ruinous building used for the farm stock, to enter suddenly into a small cloister perfect in every particular.

The refined beauty of the colonnade and the grace of the whole design at once remind the traveller of the cloister of S. John Lateran at Rome, upon which it is modelled. The arches rest on pairs of small columns. The capitals are bell-shaped, and the lines of the cornice are relieved by



Photograph: Brogi

CLOISTER OF S. PAUL'S WITHOUT THE WALLS. ROME

Compare with the cloister at Sasso Vivo near Foligno

mosaics worked in the style of the Cosmati. The cornice, indeed, is a marvel of beauty. It is a series of simple mouldings and arcadings, executed in yellow sandstone, terra-cotta, and delicately tinted marble. The simplicity of design, the air of refinement and proportion, the beauty of colour, and the subtle sense of harmony, which is classical in the best sense of the word, make of this quiet cloister a most perfect and lovely picture. The cloister was constructed in the early part of the thirteenth century.

Another interesting excursion may be made from Foligno to **S. Giovanni Profiamma,** where there is a fine Romanesque church dating from 1239, with symbolical sculptures on the façade. In the immediate neighbourhood of Foligno, leaving by the Porta Romana, there is the little town of **Sant' Eraclio,** with a picturesque castle built by the Trinci at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

GUBBIO

Gubbio is on a line of railway which connects Arezzo with Fossato, a station on the Foligno-Ancona line. The journey from Arezzo to Gubbio occupies from four and a half to five hours, and from Gubbio to Fossato there is about an hour's journey. This railway also serves Città di Castello and Borgo San Sepolcro ; it passes through a beautiful country. Another way of reaching Gubbio, and one that is still more pleasant, is to drive from Perugia ; this takes about four hours. Passing out of Perugia by the Porta Augusta the road descends rapidly to the valley of the Tiber. The stream here is often a succession of shallows reflecting the willows on its banks, rather than the river that is familiar to us in Rome. It is crossed by a high bridge, and soon afterwards the road to Umbertide goes off to the L. The road to Gubbio lies over a range of hills bare of vegetation, and with but few inhabitants. Some sheep, tended by wild-looking men clothed in goat-skins, find a little grazing during parts of the year, and here and there a bit of open woodland reminds the traveller

of a Surrey common. The charm of the drive is in the distant views over the Umbrian valleys, with the chain of the Apennines forming a magnificent background. For the last mile or two the road crosses a broad valley leading to the foot of Monte Calvo.

[Gubbio is built on the lower slopes of the hill. The circuit of the ancient walls is too large for the modern town, which clusters round two immense mediæval buildings, the Palazzo dei Consoli and the Palazzo del Municipio. Above these stand the ducal palace and the Duomo, and for a background there is the grey side of Monte Calvo.

Gubbio was famous for its **school of pottery,** particularly in the early part of the sixteenth century, when Maestro Giorgio produced the ruby lustre which has made him famous. Hardly any of this ware is to be seen in the public collections of the town, but those who are interested in it will find many examples in the South Kensington Museum.]

The two municipal buildings are raised on huge buttresses of masonry. They form striking examples of the style of architecture usually found in fourteenth-century buildings of this kind. They suggest the spacious and magnificent life of the Italian city republics.

Palazzo dei Consoli has an immense hall on the ground floor roofed with a round waggon vault. Fortunately nothing has been done to destroy the effect of its fine construction. In it are collected a few inscriptions from the Roman theatre. On the side of the staircase there is a fresco with Madonna and Child, S. Ubaldo, and John the Evangelist.

Room opening from the hall. Carved doors from the ducal palace. The ark-shaped casket which contained originally the relics of S. Ubaldo. A fresco of Madonna and Child by *Palmerucci*.

A similar room opens from the staircase before we reach the higher level.

A processional cross with the four Evangelists. Brass plates for receiving offerings. In a cabinet is a specimen

of the famous Gubbio ware, made by *Maestro Giorgio*, the subject is S. Francis kneeling before the Cross. A plate by the son of Maestro Giorgio. A number of diplomas granted by the Emperor Barbarossa (1163), Henry VI. (1191), Frederick II. (1211, 1241, 1244, 1248), Otto IV. (1211), and the Vicar of King Manfred (1259). A collection of photographs of the lustre ware of Maestro Giorgio.

The large hall on the second floor is another imposing apartment. It contains a collection of **pictures.** Turn to the L. The Elevation of the Cross, by *Benedetto Nucci* of Gubbio. The Assumption of the Virgin, by *Signorelli*. The Resurrection of Lazarus, by *Virgilio*, son of Benedetto Nucci. A Gonfalone, by *Sinibaldo Ibi*; on one side Mater Misericordia, on the other S. Ubaldo. The Annunciation, by *Dannani* of Gubbio. A fine stone fountain, with the arms of the Rovere family.

Opening out of the large hall, there are several smaller rooms. Enter the central one. A detached fresco of Madonna and Child with saints, from the Church of S. Maria Nuova.

Madonna with SS. Augustine and Monica, by a painter of the Umbrian school.

Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, by *Lippo Lippi*.

Madonna and Child with SS. Sebastian and Rocco, by *Martino Mariotto*.

The Deposition, by a painter of Gubbio.

In another small room, to the L., Madonna and Child, attributed to *Palmerucci*.

Madonna and Child with SS. James, Ubaldo, John the Baptist, and Mariana, by *Pietro Lorenzetti*.

S. Vincenzo, by *Martino Nelli*.

Madonna and Child with saints, Umbrian school. A detached fresco, Madonna and Child on a large scale, attributed to the school of Nelli.

A triptych in the rude native manner.

Madonna, carved in wood and painted, of the thirteenth century.

Pass through the central small room, enter a room to the L. Head of a Roman statue found in the theatre.

The most curious objects in the collection belonging to Gubbio are **the Eugubine tables.** Seven of them are preserved here. They are of bronze, and the inscriptions upon them are still a subject of speculation for scholars. Five of the tables are written in Etruscan letters, and two in Latin. The language, however, is neither Etruscan nor Latin. It is supposed to be an Umbrian dialect closely allied to Oscan and Latin. The date assigned is about two centuries before Christ, when the Umbrians, as a people, had no power, and when their numbers are said to have been greatly reduced. The writing is concerned with the ritual of a body of priests known as the Attidian Brethren. The tables were discovered in 1444.

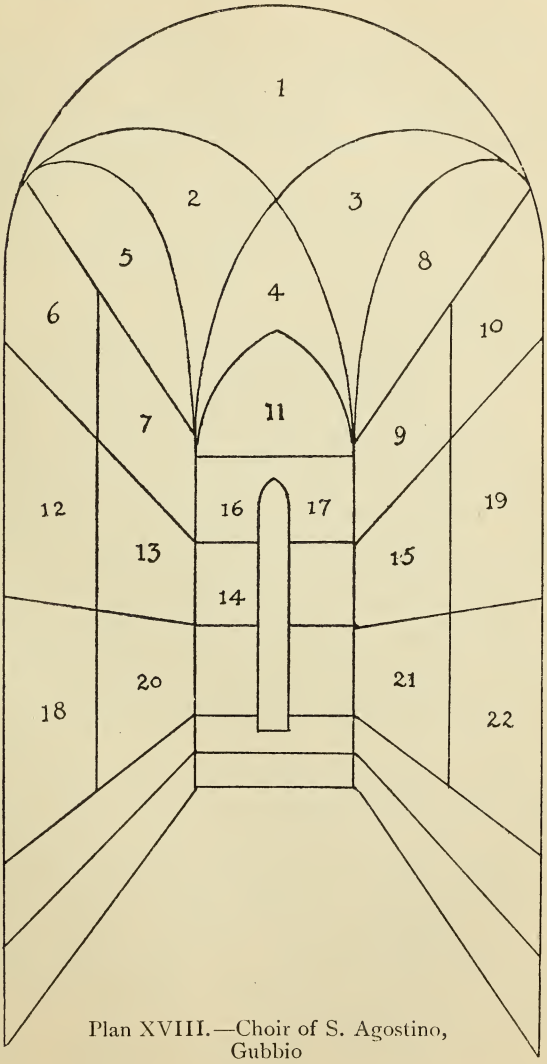
In a room opening from the large hall near the entrance, there is a collection of uninteresting pictures, and a few choral books.

From an open loggia, there is a fine view over the town and the valley.

S. Agostino

Just outside the Porta Romana is the Church of S. Agostino. In the third chapel to the R. in the nave of the church is a picture of Madonna and Child. At either side angels present a group of souls, a dove descends on Christ, and angels make music. The most interesting feature of the church is, however, **the choir,** where the story of S. Augustine's life has been painted. The pictures are attributed to *Ottaviano Nelli,* who is known to have worked between the years 1403 and 1444. He was the son of Martino Nelli, a pupil of Guido Palmerucci, a painter of Gubbio, supposed to have flourished between 1280 and 1345. Palmerucci is said to have been the pupil of Oderigi, who died in 1299, and who has become famous from the mention of his name by Dante. Ottaviano Nelli worked under the patronage of the Counts of Montefeltro, but it is said that

only a single figure of S. Sebastian remains of all that



Plan XVIII.—Choir of S. Agostino, Gubbio

he painted during a ten years' residence in Urbino.

We turn now to consider the paintings in the choir.

The frescoes on the roof (Plan XVIII., p. 267), Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, describe the training of **S. Augustine.** He himself has told us how he disliked the routine of the schools, and how he enjoyed the tale of Troy as a "most pleasant spectacle of vanity." He also describes how he was roused to a desire for wisdom by the reading of Cicero's "Hortensius," and how by its influence his affections were changed and his mind turned towards God. In each of the frescoes in the vaults, besides the picture referring to some point in the youth of S. Augustine, there is a figure of an Evangelist.

Leaving his native town of Tegaste, Augustine went to Carthage to continue his studies. He read the "Ten Predicaments" of Aristotle alone, and he studied all the books that he could get, bearing on the liberal arts, and thus he became fitted to teach. From Carthage he went to Rome, and from Rome he was sent by the prefect Symmachus as a teacher of rhetoric to Milan. These journeys are painted in the frescoes Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8, and in the latter picture we see Augustine teaching.

At Milan he came under the influence of S. Ambrose and Simplicianus; the scene to the L. of No. 9 probably represents Augustine taking counsel with the latter. To the R. of the same picture the story is continued. While walking alone and being in much mental stress, he heard a voice saying, "Take up and read." Supposing it to be a voice from heaven he returned quickly to his friend Alypius, and seizing the book of the Apostles he opened it and read, "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof."

No. 10. The Baptism of S. Augustine. He and his son were baptised by S. Ambrose. It is said that during the ceremony each one in answering the other made the verses of the "Te Deum laudamus."

No. 11. Perhaps represents the setting out to return to Africa.

No. 12. Death of Sta. Monica, his mother, at Ostia while they were on the way.

No. 13. Lands in Africa. No. 14. On his return to Africa he went to Hippo, and against his will he was ordained a priest by Valerian the Bishop.

No. 15. Valerian having resigned the Bishopric, Augustine was constrained to take the office. This fresco represents his Consecration.

Nos. 16, 17, and 18. Probably represent some of the many controversies in which S. Augustine was engaged with Manicheans and others.

No. 19. S. Augustine sees a vision of the Crucified Christ.

No. 20. Death of S. Augustine. When the Vandals laid waste the country they besieged Hippo, and in the third month of the siege the Bishop fell ill and died.

No. 21. Translation of the body to Pavia.

No. 22. The miraculous deliverance of a prisoner.

These frescoes were painted when Gentile da Fabriano was at work in various parts of Italy, and when Masolino and Masaccio were transforming Florentine art. But the painter at S. Agostino was no such craftsman as Gentile, and he had no comprehension of the subtle change which was being worked out by Masaccio. The paintings have been covered with plaster, and it would therefore be unfair to judge of the colour; for the rest a certain love of realism only produces a rather childish art, wanting alike in force and dignity.

On the wall, at the eastern end of the nave, is the Last Judgment, with Peter receiving the Elect at the gate, by *Ottaviano Nelli*.

Sta. Maria Nuova (in the Via Savelli della Porta). The principal interest in the church is the charming fresco known as Madonna del Belvedere, by *Ottaviano Nelli*, painted in 1403 or 1404. In the centre sits Madonna with the Child on her knee; to the R. is S. Anthony, to the L. S. Emiliano; the donors (Pinoli) are presented, one by an angel, the other by S. Anthony. Around Madonna the heavenly choir make sweet music. Over her head, God

the Father in a glory of angels holds a crown. The colour is very harmonious, the robe is light blue, the undergarment is red and there is a thin veil of white ; all the drapery is flowered with gold. The background is a design in blue, each square being filled with an animal study in gilt. Behind Madonna two angels support a rich hanging. S. Anthony and the two donors are indeed the only undecorated elements in the picture. Sienese influence is strongly marked throughout. Madonna is a passive and unemotional woman ; the heavenly music and the heavenly glory which surrounds her awaken no response of any kind. The picture is too unsubstantial to be real ; it is too unimaginative to be ideal. The figures suggest no actual existence ; they are symbols treated with little attempt at relief. There is a pensive atmosphere of devotion, and a feeling tender rather than powerful. Besides all this the picture is a charming study of colour, which comes naturally to so many of the painters who lived in these wide upland valleys. Some one has said that this is the most beautiful of all Umbrian paintings, and when we stand before it, it hardly seems worth while to contradict such a saying.

A number of frescoes have been recovered from a coating of plaster: representations of Madonna and Child, the Crucifixion, figures of the Archangel Michael, S. Catherine, and S. Antonio, the last being ascribed to *Palmerucci*.

The **Palazzo Ducale.** In the year 1384 the people of Gubbio are said to have driven out the ruling family of the Gabrielli in order to welcome the sway of Antonio Count of Montefeltro. Whether this be an accurate statement of what happened or no, the town became part of the possessions of the family which ruled as Counts of Montefeltro and Dukes of Urbino. In the fifteenth century Frederick Duke of Urbino began to build **a palace** in Gubbio, and the work was continued by his son Guidobaldo. In 1474 Frederick received the English order of the Garter, and in 1504 Guidobaldo was also made a Knight. He sent Balthasar de Castiglione, the author of the " Cortegiano," to

represent him at the installation, and it was to the palace at Gubbio that the envoy returned to give an account of his reception. The use of the Garter among the ornaments of the building recalls the dignity bestowed on the two Dukes. On the death of Guidobaldo, the Dukedom of Urbino passed into the family of the Della Rovere. Their arms will be noticed on some of the monuments in the town. The building of the palace is falling into ruin, but the courtyard still shows how graceful and dignified were the palaces built by the great men of the Renaissance.

The great hall is a magnificent chamber with two very fine fireplaces. The view from the window is particularly characteristic.

The Duomo. Opposite to the entrance of the courtyard of the palace is the Duomo, an aisleless building with wooden roof supported on pointed arches.

Over the main door is a circular window with the Agnus Dei above it, and around it are the symbols of the four Evangelists, curious examples of forms half men, half animals.

In the nave of the Duomo there is, in the first chapel to the L., Madonna and Child between SS. Ubaldo and Sebastian, by Sinibaldo Ibi (working 1528). In the third chapel, to the L., there is S. Mary Magdalene crowned by angels, by Timoteo Viti (1467-1523). In the tenth chapel, to the L., Eusebio di S. Giorgio (working 1492-1527) has painted a Nativity with shepherds in adoration and the Magi in the background.

In a room off the sacristy there is preserved a fine vestment of Flemish work presented by Pope Marcellus II. in 1555. In the centre of the Cope is the Last Supper. The other scenes are the Agony in the Garden, the Kiss of Judas, Christ before Pilate, the Crowning with Thorns, the Flagellation, and the Bearing of the Cross.

CITTÀ DI CASTELLO

[Città di Castello, the ancient Tifernum Tiberinum, is

on the railway line from Arezzo and Fossato, between the stations of San Sepolcro and Gubbio. It is situated in the Valley of the Tiber at a point where there is a fine effect of a wide fertile plain between two mountain ridges. (The hotel is quite possible for a short stay.) The town was for the greater part of the history under the protection of the Holy See; but the citizens ruled themselves by their own magistrates and at times declared their independence, making wars and alliances on their own account. From the beginning of the fourteenth century a factious and turbulent spirit among the people prevented stability and prosperity. As the inevitable result of lack of unity the town became the prey of ambitious rivals and passed through the hands of the Pietramala of Arezzo, of the Perugians, of Braccio Montone, of Guidantonio Montefeltro, and of Piccinino. Finally, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the family of Vitelli rose to supremacy and under the protection of the Church ruled over their fellow-citizens for more than a century. The Renaissance palaces built by members of the family form one of the chief features of the town.]

The Duomo stands on the site of a previous church, of which the round campanile remains. The present building was begun in 1466. In 1488 it was continued on the design of Elia di Bartolommeo Lombardo. It was finished in 1529 and consecrated in 1530. There seems to be no ground for supposing that Bramante was concerned with the design. To the L. of the high altar there is a picture of the Transfiguration, by *Il Rosso*.

In the **Sala Capitolare** there are a few pictures: Annunciation, by *Francesco di Castello*; Madonna and Child, painted on a gold background, school of Siena; figure of a bishop, school of Siena; copy of a small picture by *Perugino*; portrait of Bishop Tormiolo. In another room is preserved a fine **altar front** said to have been given by Pope Celestine II. (1143-1144). In the centre is Christ seated within the mandorla with the book in one hand and the other raised in blessing. To the L., in the upper

row, the Annunciation, the Salutation, and the Nativity. In the lower row, the Flight into Egypt and the Kiss of Judas. To the R. of the central figure, in the upper row, Adoration of the Magi, and Presentation in the Temple. In the lower row, the Crucifixion and three saints, probably SS. Amanzio Florido and either Crescenziano or Donino. The central figure of Christ is treated in a bold and large way—the face is broad, the hair and beard are worked in fine lines close to the head, the eyes are prominent—at the sides are the sun, moon, and stars, and at the corners the four symbols of the Evangelists. In the Flight into Egypt the Child is carried on the shoulders of Joseph; Madonna, riding on the ass, stretches her hands out folded as in prayer, while the Child turns to look at her and gives the blessing. The gesture of Madonna is repeated in the Nativity. The Crucifixion is treated in the manner of the twelfth century: the eyes are closed, the head is slightly bent, the arms are stretched straightly, and the feet are nailed separately. The figures are in silver gilt, the background in plain silver. It is a striking, vigorous, and splendid thing, Romanesque in character, rude in workmanship. The general effect is that of strength rather than beauty. It is entirely free of the laborious niggling which the silversmiths of later centuries were apt to fall into. A crozier of the fifteenth century is adorned with enamels and figures graven in silver. There is in the same room a damaged panel, Madonna and Child with S. John Baptist.

The **Palazzo Comunale** is close to the Duomo. It is a fine building in the pointed style. It dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century. The staircase is a picturesque piece of architectural design. In the Salone are a series of portraits of the Vitelli family.

The building which contains the **Galleria Comunale** was originally the Church of S. Filippo.

No. 2. Madonna and Child with saints, dated 1417.

No. 3. Madonna and Child with angels, attributed to *Meo da Siena.*

No. 4. Coronation of the Virgin, attributed to *Ghirlandaio.*

No. 6. Presentation of the Virgin, by *Raffaello dal Colle.*

No. 11. Madonna and Child, painted on gold background, Tuscan school.

No. 15. Annunciation, by *Francesco di Castello.*

Nos. 16 and 17. Crucifixion, and the Creation of Eve, supposed to be copies from designs by Raphael.

No. 19. Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, by *Luca Signorelli.*

No. 20. Madonna and Child, attributed to *Francesco di Castello.*

No. 22. The assumption of the Virgin, ascribed to *Luca della Robbia,* in blue and white glaze with a polychrome border; the figures of the Apostles are in unusually high relief.

No. 23. Gonfalone, on one side the Crucifixion, on the other Mater Misericordia, by an unknown painter of the sixteenth century.

No. 28. Gonfalone, on one side Christ in glory, on the other the story of S. Catherine.

No. 32. Madonna and Child with angels, in glazed terra-cotta with a border of fruit, etc., in polychrome.

No. 33. Nativity with shepherds in adoration, in terra-cotta only partly glazed, by *Andrea della Robbia.*

No. 29. Annunciation, in glazed terra-cotta.

Nos. 30 and 31. Putti, in glazed terra-cotta.

No. 34. Gonfalone, ascribed to *Luca Signorelli.* On one side the Baptism of Christ, on the other S. John the Baptist.

No. 37. A large panel, by *Signorelli.* Madonna and Child with Sta. Cecilia and other saints.

No. 35. Six figures of saints, ascribed to *Luca Signorelli.*

Nos. 42 and 43. Deposition and Assumption, by *Raffaello dal Colle.*

In the centre of the hall a fifteenth-century monstrance, in silver and enamel. In the side rooms there are a few pictures of no particular interest.

The largest of the palaces built by the Vitelli is the

Palazzo Vitelli a Sant' Egidio, near the railway station. Others are Palazzo Vitelli a S. Giocomo (via Cavour), Palazzi Mancini and Bufalini, both in the Piazza Vitelli. In the Via della Cannoniera is the Palazzo Vitelli della Cannoniera, with graffiti of the sixteenth century on the façade.

TREVI

Trevi, the ancient Trebia, was famed as the place which supplied the great beams for the roofs of the Roman basilicas. It is possible that the name contains an allusion to the wood (*trabes*) used for this purpose.

From the railway station it takes about three-quarters of an hour to drive up the steep hill to the town. The road passes the Church of **Sta. Maria delle Lagrime.** In the L. transept of this church is an Entombment by *Lo Spagna.* It is a mannered and poor piece of work. Its principal interest, indeed, is that we can gauge the difference between *Perugino* and his disciple by a comparison with the Adoration of the Magi painted on the other side of the church. *Perugino* painted this picture, it is said, when he was about seventy-five years old. It shows in a most striking way the unquestionable superiority of the master. It is just such a composition as he had often painted before; through the open stable we see a beautiful Umbrian landscape: horsemen move about, shepherds tend their sheep, and in the foreground Madonna with a grave face, broad and open, sits with the Child on her knee, while the king kneels and presents his gift.

The Duomo is dedicated in the name of S. Emiliano, the patron and bishop of the town, who was martyred under Diocletian. In the lunette above the door is the figure of the saint holding his pastoral staff. Two lions crouch at his feet in submission. In the interior there are three ornate altar-pieces by Rocco da Vicenza of the sixteenth century.

In the small **Pinacoteca** (Palazzo del Municipio) is a Coronation of the Virgin, attributed to Lo Spagna; a

triptych of the fourteenth century in the style of the Florentine school, and several other unimportant pictures.

From the gate of the town nearest to Foligno a pretty road shaded with trees leads to the **Convent of S. Martino.** Over the door of the church there is a picture of Madonna and Child with two adoring angels, by *Tiberio d'Assisi.*

Within the church and facing the visitor there is, to the R. (by a painter of the school of Foligno), Madonna adoring the Child; S. Francis to the L., and S. Anthony of Padua to the R. To the L., by *Lo Spagna,* S. Martin divides his robe with the beggar. S. Martin has a trifling face; the beggar, on the other hand, has a truly professional air.

In a chapel to the L. of the church, and separate from it, *Lo Spagna* has painted a large picture of the Assumption of the Virgin. The mandorla in which Madonna is carried up is formed of cherub heads, mechanically treated and crudely coloured. To the L., there are SS. John the Baptist and Jerome; to the R., SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua, who carries a flame in his hand. The work is dated 1512.

Temple of Clitunno

About four miles from Trevi and eight from Spoleto stands the small Church of San Salvatore, built in the form of a Roman temple in the fifth century, probably from materials of an older building; note the Constantinian monogram. Near by is the source of the River Clitunno, famous since Roman times for the clearness of its water and for the beauty of the situation.

SPOLETO

The situation of Spoleto is one of great beauty. The ancient city stands upon a hill, with a background of higher peaks. It commands a wide view over the plain, with the distant towns of Trevi, Foligno, Spello, and Assisi forming white spots upon the blue hillsides to the R., and farther still the outline of Perugia against the sky, to the L.

A magnificent gorge, formed by the River Tessino, divides the town from the steep sides of Monte Luco, which are covered with ilex-trees.

The history of Spoleto is as varied and picturesque as her scenery. The part which she has played has been the result of her geographical position in relation to Rome. In a commanding situation, close to the Flaminian Way, Spoleto has been the coveted possession both of the great Republic and of her enemies.

A Roman colony was planted here in 240 B.C., and gave valuable assistance about twenty years later, when Hannibal and his Carthaginian forces, having defeated the Romans at the Lake of Trasimeno, attacked Spoleto on his way to the south. The inhabitants drove him back from their gates, and, instead of continuing his route to Rome, he turned aside and went into the northern part of Apulia. **A gateway** of the Roman period, which may be passed on the way from the station by making a short detour on foot, is known as the Porta d'Annibale, or Porta della Fuga, and has a Latin inscription referring to the event.

There are several other remains of Roman times in the town. In the Via di Druso, a street opening out of the Piazza del Mercato, there is a plain, heavy **arch**, embedded for the most part in the roadway and adjoining houses. On it is a dedication to Germanicus and Drusus, the son and the adopted son of Tiberius.

The Municipio stands on the remains of a **Roman house**, said to have been that in which the mother of Vespasian lived. Traces of a **Roman theatre** also have been discovered in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele.

During the centuries of invasion, when Ostrogoths, Lombards, and Franks overran the country, Spoleto continued to be a place of importance. Its position was strengthened by the fortifications built by Theodoric the Goth.

During the **Lombard** occupation Spoleto became the seat of one of the duchies into which the conquered territory of Italy was divided. The dukes maintained an independent

position, extending their domains by conquest, and making treaties on their own account with other Powers.

The long reign of Theudelap, from 601 to 653, greatly increased the strength and independence of the duchy. This duke is said to have been the builder of the Duomo, and of the magnificent aqueduct, now called the Ponte delle Torri, which not only brings water into the town from Monte Luco, but provides a footway across the ravine. The upper part of the present structure, with pointed arches, is work of the fourteenth century.

The Dukes of Spoleto were the builders and supporters of many abbeys and monasteries in the neighbourhood.

The hill, **Monte Luco,** overlooking the city, became renowned also as a spiritual stronghold ; for, in about the year 550, a Syrian pilgrim of the name of Isaac, fleeing from Rome, then in the hands of the barbarians, took refuge in Spoleto. It is said that one day he remained so long in prayer in the church that he was rudely turned out by one of the attendants. He then determined to seek God no longer in the midst of the haunts of men, but in solitude. He established himself as a hermit among the ilex groves on the slopes of Monte Luco, and there passed a life of contemplation. His example was followed by others. Monte Luco became another Thebaid, and the woods were crowded with little huts where the holy men spent their days in social solitariness.

A winding path through the wood leads up the slopes to a small Franciscan convent. The path lies mostly in shadow under the closely growing ilex-trees, but ferns and flowers grow freely by the wayside, and every here and there between the branches there is a vision of the city and the plain below and of the surrounding hills. It would be difficult to find a more fit place for the pursuit of the contemplative life.

Under **Frankish rule** the territory was governed by a succession of dukes nominated by the Emperor.

When the Karling empire broke up at the end of the ninth century, Duke Guido III., as a descendant of the

imperial house, was raised to the throne of Italy. He reigned only for a few months and was succeeded by his son Lambert, who died while still a youth in 898.

In 1155 the city of Spoleto was devastated by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. The inhabitants had refused to pay the imperial tax laid upon them, and as a punishment the city was besieged by the Emperor and laid waste with fire and sword. Many of the churches were barbarously destroyed, and the citizens who escaped hid themselves in the woods of Monte Luco.

In 1198 the March of Spoleto fell into the hands of Pope Innocent III., and the series of German feudal lords came to an end with Conrad of Swabia.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, when the legate Albornoz was engaged in re-establishing papal authority in Central Italy, he took possession of Spoleto, and judging its situation to be important for his purpose, he restored and strengthened the fortress.

From this time onwards La Rocca remained in **the possession of the Popes.** Calixtus III., in 1456, gave the city of Spoleto, with the title of Duke, to his nephew Pier Luigi Borgia ; and Alexandria VI., in 1499, made his daughter, Lucrezia Borgia, governor of the town. The new governor travelled from Rome with a sumptuous retinue. She rode into Spoleto clothed in red and gold, sitting on a white mule, and was welcomed with every sign of rejoicing by the inhabitants.

In 1798 Spoleto was occupied by the French Republican troops, and a picture by Lo Spagna which was in the fortress, and is now preserved in the Municipio, is said to have been wilfully damaged by a French soldier's bayonet.

The papal troops in 1860 made a long and gallant resistance in the town under the leadership of an Irishman, Major O'Reilly. On the 27th of September the city was taken by the Italian soldiers.

The Duomo

The Cathedral of Sta. Maria Assunta is said to have been founded in the seventh century by the Lombard Duke, Theudelap. The church became the Duomo in 1067, and was much destroyed in 1155 when Barbarossa laid waste the city. The present construction dates from the twelfth century. It is a fine and characteristic example of **the Romanesque style.**

The Renaissance portico covering the entrance was added in 1491. The façade therefore affords an interesting contrast between the characteristics of two styles of architecture—the Romanesque and the Renaissance.

The general effect of the building above the portico is picturesque and irregular. The mosaic, the circular windows, and the row of shallow arcades are the only features which break the spacious masses of wall. The warm tones of the masonry and the brilliant colours of the mosaic combine well together, and the impression given by the whole is imposing, picturesque, and somewhat barbarously magnificent.

On the other hand **the Renaissance Portico** is severely elegant. Everything is uniform, regulated, and carefully proportioned. A delicate frieze of sculpture runs along the top of the round arches, and the spandrels are filled with marble disks of subdued colours. At each end of the portico is a small pulpit of great simplicity and beauty.

The Mosaic. An inscription at the bottom of the picture gives the name of the artist, Doctor Solsernus, with the qualification "*summus in arte modernus*," and the date 1207, also the names of several assistants.

The work is Byzantine in character. The drapery is arranged in the conventional manner, and the folds are outlined with gold. But if we compare the head of Christ with the representation in the dome of the Florence Bap-

tistery, it will be seen that Solsernus had made considerable advance towards a style freer and less ascetic in character. The mosaic has been restored.

Christ is seated upon a throne, with the Virgin on the L. and S. John the Evangelist on the R. On the book held by the central figure are the words, "I am the Light of the World."

The round window below the mosaic has the four symbols of the Evangelists carved in high relief at the four corners. The circle of the window stands for a figure of the globe of the World, throughout which the Light of the Gospel was carried by the Evangelists.

The reasons popularly given for the attribution of the signs to the Evangelists are as follow :—

S. Luke in his gospel dwells more than the other writers upon the priestly lineage of Christ, and he begins his narrative with the priesthood of Zachariah ; therefore he is represented by the ox, the principal victim used in the sacrifices of the priests.

S. Matthew relates the generation of Christ as a man. His gospel relates to the humanity of the Saviour. He is therefore depicted with the face of a man.

S. Mark begins with the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Now the voice in the wilderness is that of a lion. Hence this animal is fitly chosen for his symbol.

S. John, more than the other writers, contemplates the Light Eternal, and is therefore figured by the Eagle, which alone of all the birds can gaze at the sun.

The two human figures and the three pillars that support the circle of the window have no doubt some symbolical significance, and may be compared with the three similar figures under the large window of the Duomo at Assisi.

Before entering the church some fragments of marble reliefs, built into the walls within the portico, should be noticed.

There are several panels of Romanesque workmanship, and high up on the side wall (to the L. of the central door) are some graceful designs of Italo-Byzantine style. One

fragment in delicate relief represents a stag on either side of a vase.

The lintel and jambs of the central door are covered with sculpture in relief. The name of the sculptor, Gregorius Melioranzius, is carved in the middle of the L. jamb.

The design is graceful, and many of the figures are introduced very ingeniously into the circles formed by the branches, but the work does not show the same high qualities as the similar scroll round the doorway of S. Pietro.

Such designs as these are frequently found on the jambs and lintels of Romanesque doorways. The main theme is generally a conventionalised vine bearing grapes. Many figures of men and animals are found among the branches, eating the leaves or gathering the fruit. The vine is the Church, which provides spiritual nourishment and safety for the healing of the nations.

The interior was restored in the seventeenth century, and the chief object of interest now is the series of frescoes by *Filippo Lippi*, the pupil of Lorenzo Monaco, and the follower of Masaccio.

This artist came to Spoleto towards the end of his life and painted a series of pictures of the history of the Virgin in the apse. The work left unfinished by Fra Filippo, who died in Spoleto in 1469, was completed by Fra Diamante, one of his disciples. The paintings are worthy of careful study, for although they are grievously damaged, it is possible to appreciate in them the forces which were moving the Florentine artists of the fifteenth century.

The semi-dome is filled with the Coronation of the Virgin, and below are three scenes : the Annunciation (to the L.), the Death of the Virgin (in the centre), and the Nativity (to the R.).

The frescoes cover the whole area of the semi-dome and the walls below ; their breadth and freedom and their magnificent scale is stimulating. There is a vigour, a keenness, a kind of mental vivacity unusual in the work of Fra Filippo. Youths have a true *joie de vivre*, old men are

Photograph: J. W. Cruickshank

CAPITAL, S. AMBROGIO, MILAN

Compare with the foliage on the central door of the Duomo at Spoleto

staid, many of the women are not only beautiful but of vigorous character, everywhere there is some point of interest, some fresh angle of view.

The Annunciation. Madonna is no longer the commonplace type of the painter's earlier years. Whatever may be the charm of the panels in Florence, at Spoleto the conception is stronger, the figure has character as well as grace, and if the mystical quality is subordinate there is a powerful rendering of a striking personality. There are no trifling accessories—nothing is tentative, it is a work more vital, more free from personal idiosyncrasy than any other of Fra Filippo's painting.

The Nativity. Little more than a shadow remains of a magnificent composition.

The Death of the Virgin. The scene is laid on a platform of rocks. To the L. is a steep hill with cornices running round it, like Dante's description of the Mountain of Purgatory.

The figure of Christ in a " mandorla " carrying the soul of His Mother is almost effaced. S. Thomas, kneeling as he receives the girdle, can just be distinguished.

The Coronation of the Virgin, in the semi-dome. Much of the landscape background has disappeared, and some of the colours have become harsh. Mary is crowned, not by the Son, but by the Father, who is seated upon a throne and wears a magnificent tiara. The figures are placed in an iris-coloured halo studded with stars. Above the rainbow is a great light representing the Sun of Righteousness, while the earthly sun and moon appear under the feet of the principal figures.

Round about is a company of angels, who sing, dance, and play upon musical instruments. Some give flowers to the others. Beneath the angels are the righteous men and women of the Old Testament. Beginning on the R., the names of the women printed below them are as follows :— Eve, the sibyl Tiburtina, Rachel, Bathsheba, Leah, the sibyl Erythræa, Esther, and one whose name is unrecognisable. The men are as follows (beginning in the centre) :—

Adam, John the Baptist, Daniel, Elias (?), Micah, Hosea (?), Amos.

The scene is partly of historical and partly of a devotional character. It may be considered as the glorification of the Virgin, following her death and burial. With the introduction of the prophets and sibyls it becomes also a devotional picture, signifying the triumph of the spiritual Church typified by the Virgin. The kneeling witnesses who take part in the mystery are types afforded by the old dispensation significant of the future Church.

Adam and Eve, the origin of the human race, are those by whom death and sin entered into the world, thus necessitating the Incarnation. The Virgin is often regarded as the second Eve, bringing life to the world, through obedience, as the first Eve brought death through disobedience. Bathsheba is a type of Mary, because she sat upon a throne on the right hand of her son. Esther, who interceded for her people before the king, is a figure of the Virgin herself—the intercessor for the faithful. The sybil Erythræa generally holds a white rose, having predicted the Annunciation. The sibyl Tiburtina pointed out the vision of the Virgin and Child to the Emperor Augustus, warning him that a Hebrew child should be born who should rule over the gods themselves.

At the entrance to the chapel (*left of the choir*) is **the grave of the artist** *Filippo Lippi*, who died in 1469. The tomb was erected by Lorenzo de' Medici, and the inscription by Politian may be roughly translated : " Here now, I, Phillipus, lie buried, the ornament of painting, the charm of whose wonderful hand every one knew. I, the painter, could with my hand give life to the colours, so that the beholder thinks that he hears them speak. Nature even is astonished, and copies my figures ; and she confesses to me that I, as she, have power to create."

On the floor, opposite, is a fine sepulchral stone to a member of the Orsini family, dated 1581.

In **the Winter Choir** is a picture by *Lo Spagna* (painting 1500-1532 ? a pupil of Perugino, and influenced by

Raphael). The subject is the Madonna and Child, with saints.

In the first chapel to the R. are some much damaged frescoes by *Pinturicchio*.

The Baptistery

The Baptistery is a small building, square in plan, entered from the porch of the church.

In early times separate buildings were raised for the administration of baptism, which only took place twice in the year. It was convenient, also, to have a separate building, as unbaptised persons were not permitted to be present at the celebration of the mysteries.

The roofs and walls are covered with **frescoes,** which are of no value as works of art, but are worth notice on account of the scheme of ideas represented.

In the vault facing the door is Adam, holding an apple, significant of the fall into sin. Two small scenes at the sides represent the creation of the body and soul of Adam.

In the vault to the L., man makes his first step to recovery under the Old Law administered by the High Priest. The small pictures represent the Burning Bush and the Salvation of the Israelites at the Red Sea.

The vault opposite is that of the New Law. The small pictures represent the release of the Israelites by the Egyptians, and the Sacrifice of Isaac, typical of escape from the bondage of the Old Law, and of the sacrifice that was to make all men free. In the centre a figure stands at the altar, on which is bread and wine, the source of strength to believers, and the reward of faith.

The vault over the entrance door shows a man clinging to the Vine of the Lord, the safety which he finds in it is typified in the two small pictures of Noah and his family entering the Ark, and the Ark floating on the waters. Below is the Ascension of Elijah, pointing to the ultimate hope of mankind.

On the wall opposite the entrance is a large **Crucifixion**

with the Madonna and the twelve Apostles. The Death on the Cross recalls the saying of S. Paul, that as we are buried with Christ through baptism, like Him we shall be raised up from the dead and walk in the newness of life.

The font has sculptured upon it the Nativity, the Presentation, the Adoration, the Circumcision, the Flight into Egypt, Christ among the Doctors, the Baptism, and the Miracle at Cana.

The Church of S. Pietro

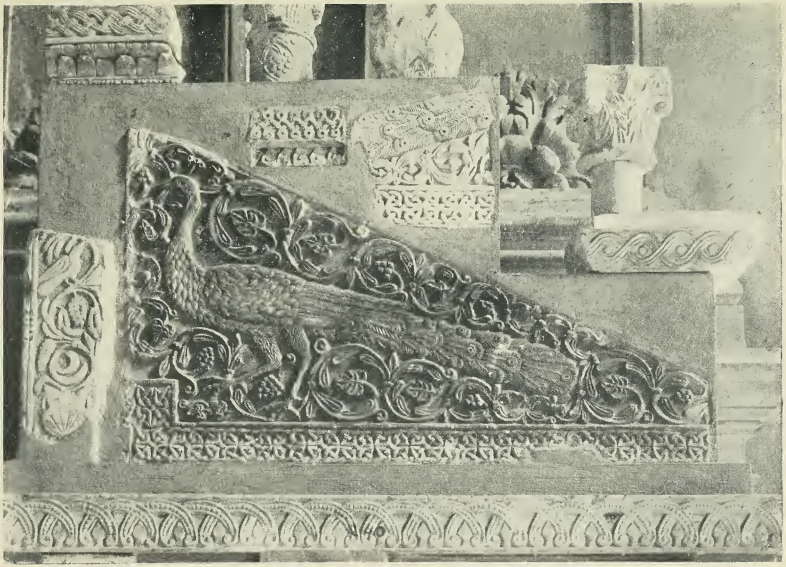
This ancient church outside of the city is one of the most striking of the Romanesque buildings in Italy.

It has a magnificent situation on the slope of the hill, with a little piazza in front, which is reached by a long flight of steps. Behind rise the wooded heights of Monte Luco, and in front is a wide view over the city and the plain to the hills in the background. The church was originally founded in the fifth century, and served as the cathedral of Spoleto until 1067. When the town was attacked and burned by Frederick Barbarossa in the middle of the twelfth century, this isolated building was greatly damaged.

The style and date of the sculpture. The earliest work of all upon the church is an archaic relief of S. Michael killing the dragon, above *the side door to the left.* Some fragments above the door of entrance to the house of the Priore (*on the right*) are apparently works of the same date.

Round the central door there are two systems of sculpture. One series, connected with the jambs and lintel, is distinguished by unusual grace and refinement. The treatment and detail suggest Byzantine influence.

To R. and L. of this highly finished sculpture there is another series totally different in character. The style and the material are both rude, in comparison. This work is characterised by vigour and simplicity. It is the sculpture of men who have much to say with little technical power of expression.



Photograph: J. W. Cruickshank

PEACOCK (From the Museum at Brescia)

Compare with the sculpture on the facade of S. Pietro, Spoleto.

The general theme is the way of the soul through the dangers and temptations of this life, and the assistance which the penitent may obtain from S. Peter in order to escape from eternal punishment, and attain to everlasting blessedness.

We begin with the reliefs *round the central door*. On the jambs and lintel is a conventionalised Vine. This vine has the cross placed among its branches, and is a symbol of the Church of Christ upon earth.

The figures of animals which divide the geometrical designs are identical in subject upon the two sides.

In the lowest panels is a pair of oxen wearing the yoke, followed by a man.

This is the Romanesque artist's way of showing us how man began his spiritual career under the yoke of the Law. It is the yoke from which the Gospel made man free.

In the centre is a stag killing a serpent, significant of the baptised Christian overcoming the vices which attack him. When the Law had done its work, man entered upon a positive state, and, with the help of grace, struggled with the sins which beset him.

At the top is a peacock eating grapes, a figure of the soul which has attained to the blessedness of everlasting life.

The panels thus represent the three periods into which the life of the human race may be divided : (1) the reign of Law, when man lived in servile obedience ; (2) the reign of Grace, when man lives in filial obedience in faith ; (3) the reign of Love, when man lives in the freedom of the spirit.

The stag is a biblical figure for the Christian thirsting for grace (Psalm xlii.), and, according to the natural historians of the time, the stag was the great enemy of serpents.

The peacock was used as an emblem of immortality on account of the beauty of its feathers renewed every year, and because of the supposed incorruptibility of its flesh.

Turning now to *the panels in high relief* on the walls at each side, the subjects illustrated are the temptations and sins which beset the pilgrim on his way through life, and

the power of S. Peter, in absolving the penitent and securing his soul from hell.

We begin with the *top panel on the right.* Nearest to the central door Christ prepares to wash the feet of S. Peter, who protests, drawing his feet under him. Then the disciple, made conscious of his error, lays his hand upon his head, saying, " Not my feet only."

The panel below this represents the calling of Peter and Andrew. The incident is told with the utmost simplicity and directness.

The two corresponding panels at the top, on the opposite side of the door, illustrate the office of S. Peter under the dramatic form of a contrast drawn between the **death of the penitent** and the **death of the sinner.**

In the highest panel, the penitent lies peacefully upon his bed. At the head stands S. Peter with the key of absolution, and holding a rope which he has loosed from off the penitent. The rope signifies the bondage of sin. At the foot of the bed the soul of the dead man is weighed in the balance. On one side is the guardian angel with a scroll inscribed with his good deeds, on the other side is a devil who tries to pull the scale to his side. He has a scroll upon which are the words, " *Doleo quia non est meus* " (I grieve because he is not mine). Behind the devil, another image of S. Peter presides over the judgment ; he is seated upon a throne and holds a key.

In the scene below is the deathbed of the sinner, whose arms are bound with the bonds of unabsolved sins. At the foot of the bed the balance falls to the side of the devils, who seize their prey. To the R. the guardian angel flees away with an eloquent gesture ; to the L. the mouth of hell is represented as a pot into which the condemned are thrown head foremost.

In the six lower panels (three on each side), the dangers of Pride, and the nature of the cunning snares laid by the devil to deceive man, are shown by means of allegories and fables. These sculptures belong to the class of moral examples used by the popular preachers in their sermons. On

the L. are three examples drawn from the history of the **lion,** inculcating the merits of Humility and the dangers of Pride.

The highest of the three represents a man armed with an axe about to slay a lion, whose forepaws are caught in the cleft of a tree-trunk. The writers do not know of any other representation of this incident in sculpture, nor have they found it used as an " exemplum " in the popular collections. Like the other panels, it may be a warning against presumption, as the over-confident lion, trusting in his strength, falls a victim to the superior cunning of the man. The scenes below illustrate how the clement lion spares the humble suppliant who begs for mercy, while he shows himself without pity for the man who comes before him boldly, trusting in his own strength and in his weapons.

The lion in this character was held to be an image of the Church, merciful to the penitent, but without pity for the proud and heretical.

The panels on the other side, *to the right,* illustrate the cunning snares laid for man by his arch-enemy the devil.

In the third scene from the top (under the Calling of Peter and Andrew), is the story of how **the fox** secures his prey by shamming death.

The fox lies on his back, apparently dead, but the sculptor has given an expression of sly cunning to the animal's open mouth and watchful eye. The birds stand on little mounds, and stretch out their foolish necks towards their foe, whose feet are already drawn up ready to spring. The moral drawn by the *Bestiaries* is that when the devil has lured people into sin, he springs up like the fox, and thrusts them into hell.

Below this, the hypocritical character of the great deceiver is illustrated by the story of **the Wolf-scholar.** The wolf, anxious for an opportunity to capture a sheep, feigns penitence and conversion. He has put on the scholar's hood, and holds his lesson-book; but, according to the fable, he had only reached the letter D of the alphabet

when he made off with one of his fellow-students. Finally, in the lowest panel, we see the triumph of good over evil. The dragon, typical of deceit and craftiness, is met and routed by the vigilant Christian, made as strong and courageous as a lion with the help of grace.

Palazzo Pubblico

In the Palazzo Pubblico there are several ancient inscriptions, fragments of sculpture, and a small Pinacoteca.

On the wall of the staircase are interesting **fragments of sculpture.**

(1.) A Tympanum from S. Niccolo, with the cross entwined among vine branches.

(2.) A series of small sculptures representing the martyrdom of S. Brizio, the first Bishop of Spoleto, and called the Apostle of Umbria.

In the first scene, (*a*) the King sitting on his throne, condemns the Bishop.

(*b*) The Bishop is bound to a cross, and delivered by an angel.

(*c*) The Bishop is given to wild beasts, and they make obeisance before him.

(*d*) The Bishop is beheaded.

(*e*) Christ appears in blessing.

On the same wall there are several tabernacles of Renaissance design, and fragments of Byzantine sculpture representing birds feeding upon grapes.

A mosaic pavement of the Roman period was discovered below the site of the Municipal Building, and it is said that the Roman house, of which it formed a part, belonged to the mother of Vespasian.

In the small **picture gallery** enter Room I. and turn to the R.

No. 9. Madonna and Child.

No. 5. Crucifixion of the early type, with the eyes open and the arms extended straightly.

No. 31. Madonna and Child, by *Mezzastris.*

No. 30. Remains of an altar-piece.

No. 29. Madonna and Child, ascribed to *Antonello da Messina.*

No. 21. Madonna and Child with mendicants, by *Lorenzo da Viterbo.*

No. 22. Fresco of the Annunciation, school of Lo Spagna.

No. 16. Two saints, school of Matteo da Gualdo. Inscription relating to the visit of Barbarossa in 1155.

On a table in the centre of the room: choral books, the mace of the city, two processional crosses.

Room II.—Turn to the L.

No. 36. Madonna and Child, by *Tiberio d'Assisi.*

No. 37. Nativity, by *Giacomo di Giovanni,* said to be of the school of Perugino.

No. 40. Charity, Justice, and Faith, by *Lo Spagna.*

No. 43. Madonna and Child with four saints, by *Lo Spagna,* probably the most important picture in the collection.

No. 48. Madonna and Child with saints, school of *Lo Spagna.*

Fine chest belonging to the Priors, with six locks.

In the centre of the room a shrine from Norcia.

Room III.—Later pictures of small interest. In the centre of the room an inscription in ancient dialect translated into Latin and Italian.

Other Churches in Spoleto

Near to the Piazza del Mercato is the **subterranean Church of S. Ansano.** This small building, dedicated in the name of S. Ansano, the martyr and patron of Assisi and Siena, is said to have been originally dedicated to S. Isaac, the hermit of Monte Luco. The roof rests upon four columns, and on the walls are damaged frescoes, probably of the eleventh century. In the apse is the Virgin and Child, with the Sacrifice of Isaac below. On the wall, to the L. of the entrance, are two frescoes, one a scene of

Martyrdom, the other Christ's meal with the disciples. The pieces of bread are marked with a cross, as is the custom in the paintings of the catacombs.

The Church of S. Agostino del Crocefisso, formerly S. Salvadore, is some distance without the gates, in the modern Campo Santo. It is said to have been built upon the site of a Roman temple, in the fifth or sixth century.

There are the remains of three Roman doorways, and the architectural features of the façade are thoroughly classical in style. The sculptured leaves and crosses upon the lintels and the mouldings of the windows and doors are extremely delicate and beautiful. In the interior there are a number of ancient columns of different lengths, of various materials, and of all styles. In some cases the base of the classical pillars has been used as a capital. The effect of the interior on the whole is extremely picturesque. The pillars of the crossing support an entablature of classical design.

On the hills above S. Pietro is the **small Romanesque Church of S. Giuliano,** now desecrated. The entrance door has sculptures on the jamb of a symbolical character.

Animals such as the stag, the lamb, and the hare feed upon the leaves of the vine. Peacocks and other birds eat the grapes.

The Sign of the Cross appears among the branches, and the whole design is a figure of the Church with its Sacraments.

In the interior, the semi-dome and apse are painted with mediocre frescoes of the fourteenth century. The crypt is sustained by pillars, some of which have the symbol of the Lamb in an aureole.

The Church of S. Giacomo

About four miles from Spoleto, on the road to Trevi, is the Church of S. Giacomo, with frescoes by *Lo Spagna.*

In the semi-dome of the choir, in the upper part, is the Coronation of the Virgin, based on the design of Fra Filippo Lippi in the Duomo at Spoleto. Madonna wears a white and golden robe as at Spoleto. There are the same ranks of men and women of the Old Dispensation; but the faces are commonplace and heavy, and the complexions are heightened by obvious patches of red. On the wall over the semi-dome there is, on one side, the Angel Gabriel, and on the other the Virgin. Over the niche *to the left*, Madonna sits with the Child, attended by angels; over the niche *to the right*, she rises up to heaven. The whole is a short history of the place of Madonna in the scheme of human salvation. In the lower part of the semi-dome is a large figure of **S. James the Great.** At each side is the history of a miracle worked by him. A man and his wife and their son were on pilgrimage to the shrine of S. James at Compostella, when the son was wrongfully accused of theft by an innkeeper. The young man was condemned and hanged. The parents fulfilled their vows and visited the shrine. On their return to the place where their son had suffered, they found the youth still alive, for S. James had supported him, as we see in the fresco to the L. The judge refuses to believe in the miracle, declaring that the roasted fowls before him are as much alive as the young man. Whereupon the birds immediately rose up in the dish. This scene is on the R. of the figure of S. James. In the niche to the L. are SS. Fabriano, Sebastiano, and Rocco. In the niche to the R. are SS. Peter, Anthony the Abbot, and S. Bartholomew. The pillars which separate the apse from the niches have the figures of S. Lucy (L.), and Sta. Apollonia. The conjunction of S. Sebastian and S. Rocco point to the probability that the picture may have been connected with some visitation of plague.

The whole series of paintings are heavy and uninspired. So far as the mere outline of the design of the Coronation, there is an evident intention to found upon the fresco of Fra Filippo Lippi; but both the power and the imagination

of the Florentine are lacking. The common, unrefined, and weak forms can have no place beside the vigorous work in the Duomo of Spoleto. (For an opinion opposed to this see "Renaissance in Italian Art," part iii. p. 131, by Mr Selwyn Brinton.)

V

ORVIETO

NOTE ON THE HISTORY AND PRINCIPAL MONUMENTS

ORVIETO stands on the side of the ancient **Volsinii,** one of the richest and most powerful cities of the **Etruscan confederation.** Hostilities between the Volsinians and Romans began in 362 B.C., and continued over a period of nearly one hundred years. The citizens of the Etruscan towns had become famous for their wealth, and for their luxurious and effeminate habits. They had ceased even to trouble themselves, it was said, with the burdens of ruling, and allowed the government of the commonwealth to be managed by slaves. They shared in the general defeat of the Etruscans at the Vadimonian Lake in 310 B.C., and were finally subjugated by the Romans in 280 B.C. The conquerors were amazed with many of the appliances of civilisation which they found, and Pliny repeats the statement that not less than 2000 statues were carried off by the Romans from this city alone. The inhabitants took refuge on the shores of the Lake of Bolsena, and there a new Volsinii grew up ; while a Roman town gradually arose on the ruins of the Etruscan city, and was called **Urbsvetus,** of which the name Orvieto is a corruption.

The number of tombs in the neighbourhood, and the large collection of works of art derived from them, are abundant evidence of the size and importance of the Etruscan city, which must have existed for five or six

hundred years. Very few and only insignificant traces remain of the Roman dominion.

The history of **Orvieto in the Middle Ages** resembles that of many other Italian communes. It is a history of the struggle between the discordant elements which made up the population of that confined space—a walled city. The citizens from an early period were divided by opposing interests, due to differences in race, with the consequent differences in political and religious sympathies.

The Commune, originally governed by Consuls, was Guelph in sympathy, and as a rule kept upon friendly terms with the papal power. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the town succeeded in mastering many of the neighbouring feudal lords, and compelled them to become citizens within her walls. Thus were sown the seeds of an endless political and religious division in the town, for the incomers were generally Ghibelline and Imperial in their politics, and anti-papal, perhaps even heretical, in their religious sympathies. In order to repress these tendencies, Bishop Riccardo from 1171 to 1201 carried on a vigorous crusade in the town against heresy, and many of the inhabitants were tortured and put to death. This, however, did not prove an effective means of procuring permanent peace, and the creation of a new officer, a Podestà, for that purpose in 1199 was equally unsuccessful. The factions were known as "Ecclesiastici," and "Eretici," rather than as Guelphs and Ghibellines, and the balance of power lay with the ecclesiastical party.

Alliances were frequently made with Florence, and the various forms of government adopted by that Republic were copied by the Orvietans.

The two chief families were the **Monaldeschi,** whose sympathies were with the Guelphs, and the **Filippeschi,** adherents of the Ghibelline party. Continual dissensions arose between the two factions. But in spite of this disunion the Commune grew in power and wealth.

The city was a favourite retreat with the Popes, who enriched it with several fine palaces; and the citizens

erected large municipal buildings as residences for their Podestàs and Captains of the People. The massive and imposing dwellings raised by private individuals, which line the deserted streets of the modern city, are further evidence of its former prosperity.

With the coming of the Emperor Henry VII. into Italy in 1311, the hopes of the Ghibelline party were revived, and the Filippeschi made an attempt to deliver Orvieto into the hands of the Imperial forces. The plot was discovered, and for three days during the month of August 1312 the opposing factions of the citizens fought in the streets. No less than four hundred of the party of the Filippeschi were killed, and the remnant were driven out of the city. Three hundred of the palaces, houses, and towers in the Via di Pusterla, belonging to the conquered faction, were burned to the ground and have never been rebuilt. The family of the Monaldeschi, thus left without a rival, increased in power, and within the space of twenty years the various members of this family had the supreme control of the government entirely in their hands.

Their power, however, received a serious check from the factions which arose among the different branches of the family. These branches were distinguished from one another by the names of the "Stag," the "Viper," and the "Dog," and the peace of the town was continually disturbed by their disorders. The population declined rapidly under the effects of civil war and bad government. It is stated that in 1380 there were three thousand families living within the walls, and in the space of seventeen years there were less than a third of that number, while in 1424 the population counted only two hundred households. It is easy to understand how this state of things was brought about when we read that Berardo Monaldeschi in 1386, with the help of a company of Breton mercenaries, attacked a certain quarter of the town and put to death three thousand people.

In 1345 there was a brief interregnum in the rule of the Monaldeschi, due to the conquest of the city by the papal

legate, Cardinal Albornoz. This able and warlike prelate succeeded in making peace among the citizens. He re-established the Studio Generale, a school which had existed since 1013, but had been suppressed by the Monaldeschi. The Cardinal also rebuilt the Fortress of La Rocca, at the north-east entrance of the town. The work, however, was interrupted by the death of the legate in 1367, and the new construction was rapidly pulled down by the opponents of the papal party. The site is now converted into a Public Garden, and commands a fine view of the Valley of the Paglia.

During the next half-century the government of the city underwent many transformations. Under the pontificates of Boniface IX. (1389-1404) and Gregory XII. (1406-1417), Orvieto was ruled by papal legates. In 1414 it was conquered by King Ladislaus of Naples, and fell under the rule of the military captain, Sforza. It was restored to the Church by the Perugian condottiere, Braccio, but was once more mastered by the " Viper " branch of the Monaldeschi in 1437. Finally the exhausted city, emptied of inhabitants through the continual warfare and succeeding pestilences, was reduced in 1460 to the absolute dominion of the Pope. Since then Orvieto has ceased to have any history of importance, and became part of the kingdom of Italy in 1860.

ETRUSCAN ORVIETO

The Necropolis

The Etruscan necropolis, on the north-western slopes outside of the gates, may be reached on foot from the Porta Maggiore, or by carriage from the Porta Cassia on the road leading to the railway station.

By the carriage route we reach first **the tombs** discovered in 1874, which are under the care of a painstaking and intelligent custodian, who was present during the first excavations.

The situation is very beautiful, with cliffs rising steeply behind and the wide stretch of the valley of the Paglia in front.

These sepulchres are only a small portion of a vast cemetery lying at the foot of the cliffs, and encircling the entire hill, a veritable city of tombs, to which the dead were brought from the houses of the living in the town above. Here dwellings of stone were built for the spirits. Shrines were raised in the midst of the dead, and offerings made to those deities who presided over fertility and generation.

The tombs are of an early date, probably before the sixth century B.C. They are not caves hollowed out of the rocks, but low massive buildings arranged side by side and back to back, like houses in the streets of a town. They stand now, overgrown with grass and wild flowers, in the midst of vineyards and olive gardens.

The walls, built of large stones neatly laid and without mortar, are about nine feet high. The masonry of the roof has been dressed into the form of a vault. The tall narrow doorways are without any decoration, and have simply the name of the owner of the tomb carved upon the flat lintel. There are outer and inner doors, with a small vestibule between, which may have been used as a sleeping-place by the relations when they wished to discover the will of the dead.

It was part of the belief of those who practised the cult of the grave that the dead could exert their influence upon any one sleeping near their abode, and could reveal to them in dreams future events, or even remedies against sickness. There was a constant desire also to propitiate the spirits, and in early times among the Greeks, slaves were sacrificed at funerals in order that the dead might be provided with attendants in the world beyond.

These blocks of tombs at Orvieto have at each corner a small chamber, in which skeletons, both male and female, were discovered. It is supposed that these are the remains of servants and dependants.

A cippus of stone, generally in the shape of a pine cone, and supposed to have a phallic significance, was placed upon the roof. Inside the tombs the chamber beyond the second pair of doors is furnished for the most part with stone benches, upon which the bodies of the dead were laid. There are never more than three benches, nor less than two. A large number of vases of Bucchero, and some painted Grecian vases of archaic style, were found when the tombs were discovered, as well as some ornaments and a few bronze weapons. All the contents of these sepulchres relate to a period before the sixth century B.C.

From this necropolis we pass to the adjoining farm in the direction of the Porta Maggiore to the **tombs discovered in 1896,** one of which has been preserved exactly as it was found. These sepulchres have been buried probably for centuries under the earth and débris which has fallen upon them from the higher ground above, and the entrance doors now seem to lead into caves cut out in the hillside. But these tombs are, like the rest of the necropolis, built of slabs of masonry, the roof being formed of converging blocks. They were, as a rule, closed by two stone doors, the inner being hermetically sealed.

In one tomb we can still see the bones of the two owners stretched upon the stone beds. A gold ring has dropped from the finger gone to dust, and hanging on the walls are a number of cups and plates of common earthenware and bronze. On the floor beside the benches are large vessels for oil and wine. Some of the small vases on the walls may have contained perfumes which were supposed to ward off the final dissolution of the body. Did the relations who placed the food and the drink in these vessels believe that the shades dwelt in the narrow chamber and suffered hunger and thirst, or were they following an ancient burial custom which had only a symbolical significance? However that may have been, we know that they did hold funeral feasts, and make offerings to the dead at stated periods, for outside of the doorways of many of these tombs quantities of the remains of previous feasts were

discovered, such as cups and plates, bones of birds, fishes, and beasts, and many egg-shells. As we turn from these vases and vessels, so much like our own familiar pottery, and look out at the landscape, which can have changed comparatively little in two thousand years, we are inclined to feel that our likenesses to these far-off Etruscans are perhaps greater than our differences.

Those who desire to return to the town on foot may be recommended to take the pleasant **path,** above the necropolis, which leads under the bastions of the cliffs. On the way we pass a little chapel with a Crucifixion painted upon the natural rock, called the "Crocefisso del Tufo," and enter the town by the Porta Maggiore.

The Tombs of Poggio Roccolo or Settecammini

Those who visit the **Etruscan sepulchres** have the good fortune to find themselves led out from the towns into the surrounding fields and vineyards, and sometimes farther still into the heart of the woodland.

The Tombs at Poggio Roccolo (about three kilometres from Perugia) will repay the traveller not only by the intrinsic interest of their paintings, but by the beauty of the scenery through which he must pass. The excursion by carriage occupies two to three hours. The keys of the tombs must be obtained in Orvieto. Leaving the city by the **Porta Romana,** we descend the hill in a south-westerly direction, following the road to Viterbo. As we climb the slopes on the opposite side, passing the Campo Santo, we have a clear view of the hill city of Orvieto, with the mass of the Cathedral and other buildings standing out sharply against the sky.

From this point of view, the rocks and walls surrounding the city rise with striking effect above the olives and poplars which clothe the lower slopes.

Beyond the Campo Santo, the road passes the ancient **Convent of Santa Trinita,** which contains two frescoes by *Pinturicchio.*

On the R. wall is the Madonna and Child, with SS. Joseph and Bonaventura on the L., and SS. John and Jerome on the R. Angels hold a crown over the head of Mary. Round the picture is a circle of cherub heads, and in the background there are traces of a landscape, but the fresco is now much damaged.

On the opposite wall is a figure of S. Bernardino of Siena, with four other saints.

S. Bernardino carries a scroll with the words, "*Manifestavi nominem tuum hominibus*," recalling the special mission of the saint to preach the Kingdom of Christ. He tried to persuade his hearers everywhere to take down their own ensigns, public and private, and put up in their place the monogram of Jesus.

On the R. are S. Anthony of Padua and S. Peter; on the L., S. Louis of Toulouse and S. Paul. An angel holds a crown over the head of S. Bernardino, and the figures are encircled by cherub heads. There is a pleasant landscape, and the whole forms a quiet, solemn picture with a touch of Umbrian sentiment.

The picturesque cloisters are decorated with inferior frescoes.

Shortly afterwards the road ascends more steeply, and we pass a great fall of rocks called "Sasso Tagliato," where it is said a way was miraculously opened. Higher up the hill, are the gates of the villa "Buon Viaggio," where Pius IX. once paid a visit during his sojourn at Orvieto. The road then crosses a bridge, known as the Ponte Marchese, with a monument upon it to a Gonzaga cardinal. Soon after this the carriage must be left, and we pass on foot along a grassy path through chestnut woods to the entrance to the **Tombs,** which were discovered by Signor Golini in 1863. In these tombs we see evidence of the conflicting influences which affected the Etruscan painters.

On the one hand they were powerfully influenced by Greek Art, which reached them through the medium of the painted vases imported into Etruria in large numbers.

They took their conceptions from the Greeks, and copied the idealised forms of the Hellenic artists.

On the other hand they were strongly drawn by their own natural tendency towards realism, and by their desire to represent things as they saw them, unrestrained by any refinements of a cultivated taste. These paintings belong to the later period of Etruscan art. Those of the second tomb date, it is supposed, from about the year 400 B.C. The system of colouring is not conventional, as in more archaic work ; the faces are individualised by different expressions, and there is a good deal of life and movement in the figures of the animals.

The paintings are, however, only mediocre works of art, and their chief claim upon our interest is the lifelike picture which they give us of the Etruscan people, of the customs and habits of a great civilisation. We see them at their feasts, at their funerals, at their sports, with every detail of costume minutely depicted. The first tomb, which is the less well preserved of the two, is known as the "**Tomba delle due Bighe,**" the tomb of the two chariots.

On entering the chamber, we see a great stone sarcophagus with its lid removed standing against the wall opposite to the entrance. Inside it there are several cups and vessels and the remains of a skeleton.

The roof is cut out of the natural rock in imitation of masonry, and a low bench runs round the room.

The paintings, which are much damaged, represent **the feasts and sports** held at the funeral in honour of the dead. There is the same incongruous mixture of gloomy and joyful images, of hideous demons and gaily dressed revellers, such as we find on the cinerary chests.

Above the entrance door there are two long striped **serpents,** emblems of the underworld, perhaps regarded as protectors of the tomb. A similar pair are painted upon the opposite wall, and a few traces remain upon the doorposts, of what were once the figures of brutal-looking demons, or messengers of death.

The scenes on the side walls, on the other hand, show us people in the midst of the pleasures of this world, feasting and playing, to all appearance absolutely unconscious of their surroundings.

On the wall of entrance, to the R. and L., are fragments of **chariots** drawn by two horses, probably intended to represent the races and games held at the funeral. In some of the painted tombs we shall see that the soul is represented as journeying to the underworld in a horse-chariot. Such representations are easily distinguished from the funeral sports by the presence of the genii who accompany the spirit on its migration. Here in this tomb everything indicates that the people are on this earth and of the earth.

The banquet is painted upon the R. wall. Little can now be seen except the lower part of the couches, with a pair of pigeons perched upon the footstools; and in the upper part of the picture are some of the heads of the revellers. Two of these are young men with handsome faces of Greek type, wearing white mantles and crowns of leaves upon their heads. The names are inscribed upon the walls beside the banqueters, who seem to be in eager conversation. On the opposite wall are fragments showing that the scene of the feast was continued round the chamber, and at one side the figures of musicians can still be traced. On the wall opposite to the entrance were formerly representations of two warriors, possibly the owners of the tomb.

The second tomb, which is close at hand, has well preserved and important pictures. The chamber is divided by a partition, which stands out in the centre of the room, and is used by the artist as a line of division between the subjects represented upon either side.

In the chamber on the left hand we have scenes of preparation for a banquet of a purely earthly and material nature. In the chamber on the R. are pictures of the shades, partaking of unearthly food in the presence of the rulers of the underworld.

Photograph : Brogi

PICTURE FROM THE TOMBA DELL' ORCO AT CORNETO TARQUINIA

Compare with the paintings in the tombs at Poggio Roccolo near Orvieto

Beginning with the division on the L. of the entrance wall, we see in the first place the carcases of animals, an ox with its head severed, a kid, and a bird hung up as in a butcher's shop, and we are spared none of the ugly realistic detail. On the adjoining wall a number of busy servants prepare the various dishes for the banquet. The first figure is that of a man cutting up a piece of meat on a table; next to him is a woman in a short tight tunic, superintending the arrangements of various articles of food, among which fruits and eggs are conspicuous. These provisions were used especially at the funeral feasts, probably because of the symbolical meaning attached to them. Grapes were sacred to Dionysos, who presided, not only over the new growth of spring upon the earth, but over the quickening of the seeds hidden under the ground in winter. For the same reason the pomegranate, a fruit which lays bare its seeds, was consecrated to Persephone. Eggs were used as an emblem of second life or resurrection. There are servants grouped about this table with the fruits, some carrying baskets, others playing upon a kind of double pipe, to enliven the labours of the kitchen. At the end of the wall is a servant kneading at the three-legged table; on the adjoining wall we find the cook bending over the furnace, while another man, furnished with a kind of mallet, attends to the contents of a large vessel.

On the wall of the partition the servants are seen busily carrying the dishes to the banqueting-hall. One man, who seems to play the part of major-domo, beckons authoritatively to the servants behind. On the face of the partition is a little monkey tied to a tree, said by some to be a symbol of the vanity of human life, but by others it is regarded as one of the realistic accessories introduced to heighten the natural appearance of a company gathered together for a festival.

The scenes on the other side of the partition represent the arrival of one newly dead at the banquet of the King and Queen of the Underworld. The paintings are either by another hand, or the artist has adopted a more refined

and less realistic style of painting to suit the change in his subject.

Beginning on the wall of entrance, to the R., we see the figure of a **young man** standing in a **chariot** drawn by horses. Behind the horses runs a winged female **genius, or Lasa,** holding a scroll in her hand, the record of the life of the dead youth. It was believed that the attendant genii, or guardian spirits, accompanied human beings through their lives, and at death underwent a transformation into snakes like the souls themselves. This may account for the pair of knotted serpents which the Lasa has twisted round her waist.

The scene of **the feast** to which the new arrival is hastening began on the adjoining wall, but nothing now remains except a fragment of a couch and some heads with the names beside them. The paintings on the wall at the end of the chamber are, however, better preserved. and the figures of two men lying upon couches with drinking-cups in their hands can be clearly seen.

A cloudy background is painted behind the heads of the men as though to indicate some celestial region, and at the same time, with a curious mixture of ideas, a number of candelabra with lighted candles are placed beside the couches, and two domestic pets, one like a cat called "*Krankru,*" and an ape or dog called "*Kurpu,*" disport themselves upon the footstools. Two musicians with instruments stand beside the couches.

The place of honour on the partition wall is given to the majestic group of the **King and Queen of Hades,** sitting upon thrones side by side. Little of the figures remain except the heads, with the words inscribed "*Eita,*" the Greek Aïdes, and "*Phersipnai,*" the Greek Persephone or Persephoneia. The head of the god is covered with a wolf's skin, and the goddess, who wears ear-rings and a necklace, has a sceptre crowned by the figure of a little blue bird. There is nothing awful about the appearance of these dread deities. Hades, "the Invisible one," and Persephone, "the desolating Slayer," are here represented as a comely

and gracious pair, sharing with mortals in their taste for jewels and other ornaments. Such figures are no doubt a reflection of the growing desire, with the progress of the race, to present a less gloomy view of the soul's existence after death, and to depict the possibility of a blissful life, for some at least, in the world below.

The Museums

The principal Etruscan collections are those of the Museo Civico, and of the Conte Faina in the Palazzo Faina. A small collection in the town, belonging to Signor Mancini, is also courteously shown to visitors.

The Museo Civico is in the Palazzo Soliano or Palazzo del Papa, a mediæval building on the R. of the Duomo. (Tickets, one lira, to be had from Armoni, the photographer, at the corner of the piazza.)

On the **ground floor** is a collection of Etruscan tombs, sarcophagi, statues, etc.

Turn to the L.

A large stone coffin, with the pots, vases, and other objects which were discovered inside it. Fragments of terra-cotta decorations from an Etruscan Temple of Bellevidere, antifixes, masks, and statues. The tympanum of the Etruscan Temple, projecting in front of the building like a balcony, could not have supported a group of statues in stone. The Etruscans used terra-cotta figures in high relief, which were attached by nails, and when covered with paint had the appearance of a group of statuary.

In the centre of the room is a column of pyramidal shape, with the words "Tinia tinesvil," that is, sacred to Tinia, the Etruscan deity corresponding to Jove.

Against the wall, Medusa heads in terra-cotta, both of the frightful and of the beautiful type. A large stone sarcophagus with the figure of a man reclining on the lid. The thin, sharp face is evidently a portrait. On the face of the tomb are two winged figures not unlike the type of Christian

angels. The work is said to be of the third century B.C. In a glass case is the statue of a goddess known as the Venus of Cannicella. This statue was found in 1884, in the necropolis under the cliffs, to the south of the city. "Turan," the Etruscan Venus, venerated as a manifestation of the fertile and reproductive forces of nature, was probably worshipped at a shrine raised in the midst of the cemetery. Some of the votive offerings were discovered in the débris, and are now laid round about the statue. The figure of the goddess is an interesting example of the influences which affected the Etruscans in the representation of religious images. At first purely Oriental forms were adopted. The deities were often figured with the heads of animals and with wings. But as the influence of Greek civilisation spread the Asiatic types were replaced by more gracious and natural conceptions of the human form, imitated from Hellenic models.

The head of this Venus is like the archaic primitive goddess of the East, with heavy features and plaits of hair arranged in rigid parallel lines. On the other hand, the body is in a different and much freer style, and resembles the work of the later Greek sculptors.

In the corner of the room there is **an Etruscan Tomb,** which has been brought from the necropolis lying to the north of the city. It is a good example of the type of tombs built of stones without cement. The chamber is furnished with two stone benches upon which the dead were laid. The roof is formed of blocks of stone so placed that each one projects beyond the other until they meet at the top. The projecting ends are sawn off, and the effect is that of a roughly made vault.

[In two of the other rooms of the building are careful reproductions of the paintings in the tombs of Settecammini at Poggio Roccolo, near to Orvieto, which may be studied with advantage both by those who intend to visit the tombs and those who cannot do so. They present us with a realistic and vivid picture of some of the customs, habits, and costumes of this great race of people.]

Against the wall a number of stone cippi used to mark the place of sepulchres and to show that the earth was sacred, also some stone lintels with inscriptions.

A large head of a warrior in a helmet, with the inscription, *Lars Cupores Arantio.* Above is a fine relief of a warrior in archaic style.

Turning the corner, on the wall is a terra-cotta figure of Apollo between two seated figures, from the tympanum of the Temple of Belvidere ; the figures have been painted.

Opposite to the entrance are three sarcophagi. The one to the L. is Roman, note the fine griffin on the end ; the other two are Christian.

On the wall are several mediæval carved panels. One is a fine piece of Italo-Byzantine workmanship. Peacocks and other birds feeding upon grapes are symbolical images of the spiritual life of the immortal soul. The slab is said to date from the eighth century ; it formed part of an altar screen in the Monastery of La Badia, outside of the town. A large unfinished stone mill of Etruscan times. Various fragments of mediæval capitals. Casts from the detailed ornaments on the pinnacles of the Duomo.

In the middle of the room is a fine Romanesque capital. Against the wall near the entrance is a holy water basin, attributed to *Desiderio da Settignano* (1428-1463). The outside of the basin is carved with a rich design of leaves, and in the inside are fish and crabs in high relief.

First Floor. This part of the museum is reached by a massive staircase. The great hall contains both Etruscan and mediæval antiquities.

Begin with the cases in the centre of the room.

Case VII., nearest to the door, has specimens of the black Etruscan pottery called Bucchero. The black colour was obtained by baking the clay in a covered kiln and subjecting it to a thick black smoke. The earliest examples on the upper shelf are rude in form and of a dull greyish colour ; they probably date from the seventh century B.C. Gradually the forms became more regular and the colour darker and more lustrous. Many of the designs seem

to have been borrowed from Eastern nations. Veiled women's heads, with the hair in rigid lines, are supposed to signify the dwellers in the underworld. They occur in connection with various Dionysiac emblems, such as grapes, panthers, and goats. Many of the designs upon the Bucchero relate to Dionysos.

We know that in Roman times Bacchus was most renowned in places, such as Orvieto, where the light volcanic soil was especially adapted to the cultivation of the vine. It is possible, therefore, that there may have been a special cult of the deity in this district in Etruscan times.

Upon the Bucchero ware, and upon the pottery of an early date generally, the symbols relating to Dionysos are those of a primitive people, worshippers of the forces of nature. He is conceived of as an earth-god, and an embodiment of reproductive force, to be expressed not in human form, but by the trunk of a vine, or by some other rude emblem of fertility.

The symbols of this god which appear upon the Bucchero ware in this museum are all associated with the life of the field and the forest. Such are the panthers and lions, beasts of the forest; the goats and rams, emblems of the fertile fields; the scrolls of vine leaves, and clusters of fruit, and the ever-green ivy.

Case I. has other specimens of Bucchero.

Case III. has several bronze sacrificial vessels, used for pouring the libation over the victim's head, a gridiron for cooking, fire-dogs, and a large basin. On a shelf, some wine vases of fantastic shape, in Bucchero. One has the head of Dionysos bearded, and ends in a ram's head. Another in the shape of a leg, probably refers to the miraculous second birth of Dionysos from the thigh of Zeus.

Case IV. On the lowest shelf a number of pots and small objects found in a child's tomb. A number of drinking-cups, with black figures on a red ground. Case B, in front, has some recent discoveries, including vases of an early type, with geometrical designs such as are to be found upon the pottery of primitive races.

Case V. On the lowest shelf: painted vases. Many of these found in the Etruscan tombs were probably imported from Greece. Those made in imitation in Etruria can be recognised by the introduction of the Etruscan infernal spirits, demons, and furies. On the upper shelves: Bucchero ware. Note another drinking-cup in the shape of a bent leg. On the top shelf: vases with raised figures.

Case VI. Vases with black designs on a red ground. A large amphora represents the marriage of Thetis and Peleus: the daughter stands in front of her father and the bridegroom approaches. Farther round, the bride and the bridegroom are seated in a chariot drawn by horses, and preceded by Dionysos and Hermes. There are also a number of small terra-cotta figures, glass bottles, etc.

Case IX. A small bronze urn for a child, in the shape of an ark. Also jewellery, beads, and the remains of an iron sword.

Case X. Vase of antique date and archaic Greek style. No. 1002 has Hercules fighting with the Amazons. On the reverse Dionysos blessed by Zeus. No. 1007, the marriage procession of Thetis and Peleus. Several drinking-cups, many with large eyes painted upon them, together with grapes and figures of satyrs and nymphs. It has been suggested that these cups were presents given by the bridegroom to the bride, and the eyes alluded to the unveiling of the bride.

Cases XI. *and* XII. contain a few more vases, also a number of tension weights for looms. There is also the cast from a fine Greek head in the Baracco Museum in Rome.

The Mediæval Collection in the same hall has several interesting pieces of sculpture. Begin with the wall of entrance, turning to the R. as you enter.

A fragment of fresco with Madonna and Child, Joachim and Anna. A piece of intarsia from the choir of the

Duomo, of the fourteenth century. A number of pieces of the old choir stalls from the Duomo, and a large chorale with the twelve Apostles. These are the work of *Tura dell' Ammanato* of Siena, and of *Giovanni Talini*, and are dated 1333.

Above, on the wall, an angel, by *Giovanni della Robbia*, from the Monastery of del Gesù. The colours have become almost iridescent in lustre.

Along the walls of the room are a number of **large marble statues** of the Apostles and some saints, by sculptors of the sixteenth century. S. Sebastian is the work of Lo Scalza, and S. Matthew is attributed to Giovanni da Bologna. For the most part they are tasteless productions, and have been wisely removed to the museum from the nave of the Duomo.

Between the second and third windows to the R. are a number of panels, for the most part in the rude native manner following Byzantine tradition.

No. 38. A Crucifixion, attributed to *Margaritone of Arezzo* (1236-1313?), represents a painfully contorted figure.

No. 16. A small easel picture of the Crucifixion, by *Spinello Aretino* (1333?-1410), with a gilt background.

No. 59. By *Simone Martini* (1285-1344), a Madonna and Child under a trefoil arch. Above Mary's head are the symbols of the Alpha and Omega, and on either side are angels with sceptres and orbs inscribed "*Troni*."

No. 64, by *Simone Martini*. This picture, known as the "Trasimundo Madonna," was painted for Trasimundo Monaldeschi, the Bishop of Savona, who is represented kneeling at the L. corner of the picture. The four saints are S. Dominic and the Magdalene, in the upper compartments; S. Paul and S. Peter below.

No. 40. A small picture by a follower of Giotto. Madonna is seated in the centre with the Child; on the L., S. Agnes, and S. Paul; on the R., a woman saint with a blazing vase, and S. Peter.

A detached fresco of S. Sebastian, lately attributed to *Genga*.

On the wall notice also a design for a font, made by *Michael Angelo*, whilst visiting Signorelli here.

At the end of the hall, coats-of-arms of the various arts of Orvieto.

A small marble relief of the fifteenth century, Andromeda. Madonna and Child, by *Guglielmo d'Agnello*. Large seated figure of Christ, in wood, by *Niccolo Nuti* of Siena.

On the wall are designs for the façade by *Maitani* and *Federighi*.

Small Madonna and Child, by *Romanino* of Brescia.

Against the window wall, a crucifix in bronze, by *Bernini*.

Fine pieces of **leather wall hangings** of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Such hangings as these were largely used in the decoration of Orvietan palaces.

The bronze top of a **candelabrum,** formed by four little statuettes of the Doctors of the Church.

In the window, two headless angels with censers, by *Arnolfo del Cambio*.

A small **picture** by *Luca Signorelli* (1441-1523), painted upon terra-cotta, representing his own portrait and that of Niccolo Franceschi, the camerlingo of the Duomo, and dated 1504.

A picture of the **Magdalene**, by *Luca Signorelli*, a large heavy figure, and without charm of colour. Beside this is a heavily over-painted panel of the school of Giotto, representing the **Virgin and Child** with **SS. Savino and Giovenale.** The picture comes from the old Church of S. Giovenale.

A highly ornamental niche of 1485, ascribed to *Antonio da Viterbo*.

On the entrance wall are several detached frescoes from churches in the city.

A magnificent collection of **vestments** is placed in the cases in the middle of the hall. One of these cases contains a number of **mitres,** in connection with which it is

told that the Bishop of Orvieto was entitled to wear five mitres, significant of the five dioceses over which he presided.

In the centre of the hall are several statues.

Two wooden figures of the Angel Gabriel and of the Virgin were at one time attributed to Friedrich of Freiburg, but are now ascribed to the Sienese school of the fourteenth century. Traces of colour show that the figures were once painted in a realistic manner.

With these may be compared the Annunciation, in marble, by *Francesco Mosca* (1605). The fourteenth-century angel is a model of restrained gravity; the gesture is authoritative yet mild. There is no active motion, but no sense of passive stiffness. The Madonna is not so graceful, the figure and expression are insensitive.

Mosca's angel, on the other hand, appears theatrical and extravagant, an absurd attempt is made to represent the figure in flight. Madonna ungracefully draped, turns away with a gesture as though warding off a blow, and her expression is resentful. The whole work is a display of unfelt passion, the appetite for beauty lost in insincerity and extravagance.

A small **marble statue** of Madonna and Child, by *Nino Pisano*, resembles the work of the grandfather Niccolo, rather than that of the father Giovanni. It is a pleasant figure with a simple and naïve expression, but it is somewhat spoiled by the trifling device of making the arms of the Virgin, and the Child's head, movable.

The most notable object in the centre of the hall is, perhaps, the beautiful **reliquary** made to contain **the head of S. Savino.** It was made by Ugolino da Maestro Vieri and Vivo da Siena (working in 1337). This graceful and beautiful piece of goldsmith's work was done by the artists as a proof of their ability to undertake the making of the reliquary for the Corporale in the Duomo.

In *Case* XIII. is a graceful **censer** attributed to *Benvenuto Cellini* (1500-1571), and a silver gilt **pastoral staff** which belonged to Cardinal Simoncelli. Notice also,

in *Case* XIV., a quaint little **casket of the fourteenth century,** of painted wood, interesting on account of the subjects of a romantic and chivalrous character. On the side facing the window is a Fountain of Love, in the centre of the world, "*Il Mondo*," and around the fountain are gathered knights and ladies. On the opposite side of the casket are a number of kings with their names inscribed, amongst which can be distinguished the kings of Portugal, Aragon, France, Sicily, England.

There are also a number of crosses and crucifixes, and a small bronze plaque of a Boar Hunt, by *Benvenuto Cellini*.

The Faina Collection

A fine Etruscan collection derived from the excavations made in the neighbourhood of Orvieto and at Chiusi is to be seen in the **Palazzo Faina** (opposite to the Duomo), open to visitors through the courtesy of the owner, Conte Faina.

In the First Hall:

Ranged along the floor are twelve terra-cotta cinerary chests from the neighbourhood of Chiusi, with sculptured figures upon the lids and reliefs upon the sides of the chests. The sculptures upon the lids are realistic portraits of the dead represented in the midst of the enjoyment of life, eating, drinking, talking, or playing with their ornaments. The subjects of the reliefs below are in sharp contrast with the serenely contented men and women on the lids. They illustrate, as a rule, some tragic scene of combat, slaughter, murder, or sacrifice. The fate of mortals is shown to be in the hands of the gods, who make use of death as a punishment for impiety or presumption.

No. 3 has a sleeping figure upon the lid, and on the side of the chest a drinking-vessel, or Kantharos, sacred to Dionysos ; on either side of it is a dolphin.

No. 4 has on the lid the figure of a beautiful woman resting gracefully upon her left elbow, which is supported by a pillow. The relief upon the chest represents a marine deity. Figures of **marine deities** are common among the

Etruscans, whose wealth depended greatly upon their maritime commerce. These figures do not correspond closely with any of the creations of Greek mythology. They generally appear in combat with men, or threatening them with disaster, and seem to imply the terrors and dangers which await those who go down to the sea in ships.

No. 12. The recumbent statue of a man has a saucer-shaped bowl in his hand, resembling the Roman "*Patera*." In place of a handle this drinking-vessel has a hollow raised boss in the centre, into which the fingers could be inserted. The relief on the chest represents two warriors attacked by a half-clothed figure armed with a plough. This may represent the mysterious ploughman who appeared suddenly in the battle of Marathon and assisted the Greeks by killing many of the barbarians with his implement.

Several of the bas-reliefs on the smaller urns with sleeping figures upon the lids have the same subject. They are identical, and to all appearance have been cast from the same mould. Chests of this kind were probably kept in stock, and the lids with portraits of the dead were done on commission.

The bas-relief of No. 11 represents the fratricidal combat between Eteokles and Polyneikes, the joint rulers of Thebes. This relief is a good example of the Etruscan treatment of a Greek theme. The dire result of the conflict, and the certain end in store for the brothers, is signified by the introduction of a Fury, or Lasa, the messenger of death, who stretches her arms towards the unhappy pair.

No. 14 has a touching and simple scene of farewell between the living and the dead. Two persons stand before a door with their hands clasped, and beside each one is a Fury holding a torch.

On the floor to the R. of the entrance are a number of the strange **cinerary vases called "canopi,"** with lids in the shape of human heads. They are found most commonly in the neighbourhood of Chiusi, and date from the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. They are interesting

links in the history of the development of the art of sculpture in the round, among the Etruscans. It is evident that sincere efforts were made to secure a likeness in the rudely shaped head ; in order to increase the human resemblance, these canopi are often placed upon a seat of bronze or stone, and roughly formed arms ornamented with rings and bracelets are attached by means of pegs to the sides of the vase.

The next image shows a still further advance in the power of representation. Here we have the **roughly blocked-out figure of a man.** The head is movable, and the hollow body was used as a receptacle for the ashes. The gradual development of sculpture from the rude human-headed vase to the full-sized recumbent figure upon the lid of the sarcophagus or chest is fully illustrated in the museum of Chiusi. *On the shelves* against the walls are a number of pieces of **black Bucchero ware,** some of which, noticeable for the high polish and lustrous finish, came from Castel Giorgio, two miles from Orvieto on the Viterbo road.

Two shallow bowls or " Patera " should be noticed, Nos. 495 and 439. On the shelf to the R. of the entrance are a number of **terra-cotta masks.** Four are of women's faces of a somewhat idealised type, they may represent the attendant invisible spirits, genii or furies, or they may be personifications of Death.

Nos. 380 and 381 are two masks of hideous demons with large noses, long tusks, and horns on their heads. They can be easily identified from the painted vases as the **Etruscan Charun,** the messenger of Death, who strikes down his victims with his mallet.

On these shelves there are also a number of small objects of various forms and different materials, **votive offerings** to the gods who have the destiny of mortals in their keeping. These rudely formed images of bulls, deer, pigs, mothers suckling their babes, apples, plums, etc., were offered to the powers who presided over the reproductive forces of life. The small terra-cotta figures of **men on**

horseback, and of chariots drawn by horses, which look so like cheap playthings, represented the mysterious journey of the soul to the underworld.

Several of the drinking-cups have illustrations of the rites connected with the Dionysiac worship, and the shelves also contain some phallic emblems, which were probably worn as amulets.

Room II. has a collection of **consular and imperial coins.**

Room III. contains in cases many articles in bronze, such as candelabra, flesh-hooks for taking up the burnt offering in the sacrifices, helmets, axe-heads, amulets, and votive offerings in the form of idols.

Case D has a miscellaneous collection of vases, strigils, bracelets, rings, pins, and mirrors. These **mirrors** are polished on one side for reflection, and engraved for ornament upon the other. It is significant of the changes which took place in the habits, and probably in the character, of the race, that no mirrors have been found in tombs earlier than the third century B.C., and that after that period they became very abundant. In a cave tomb near Orvieto, which had been used as a place of burial from 240 to 217 B.C., there were found no less than eleven mirrors. The subjects upon them are as a rule mythological, but they never represent scenes of combat or death, and the attendant spirits who appear are of a different order from the hideous demons introduced in the sepulchral paintings and sculptures. The favourite deities figured on the mirror are Turan (or Venus), Phupluns (or Bacchus), Adonis, and Apollo, and the scenes chosen relate, as a rule, to the meeting of lovers, the triumph of beauty, and the exploits of heroes.

Case G contains a number of flints in the shape of spears, arrows, and the like, found near Perugia and Orvieto. It is supposed that the Etruscans attached a superstitious value to these stones, and wore them as amulets.

On the second and third shelves are necklaces, combs, and small glass bottles probably of foreign workmanship,

imported into Etruria by the Phœnicians. In the case in the centre of the room are a number of gold ornaments dating from the fourth century B.C.

Room IV. has a number of **vases** chiefly in the shape of a drinking-cup called by the Greeks *Kylix*, in **archaic style with black designs upon a red ground.** This style belongs to the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. A large proportion of the examples were probably imported from Greece.

Room V. A good collection of Bucchero ware.

Painted Vases. The large majority of these vases are probably Greek importations, but several are obviously of Etruscan workmanship from the fashion in which grotesque and realistic details are added to the usual Hellenic conceptions of the scene.

Three of the vases, **Nos. 19, 20, 21,** on the shelf to the L. of the entrance, are interesting illustrations of the Etruscan representations of the after-life of the spirit. The technical qualities of the vases are mediocre, and the style of the design poor. They are mounted upon a revolving stand, so that the whole of the figures can be inspected.

No. 19. Here is represented the place of the Shades, the region of darkness and terror, guarded by the three-headed Cerberus with a serpent tail. The unhappy victim of death, represented as an old man, stands between two brutal figures, one of whom is armed with a hammer, while two great serpents raise their heads close beside him. Turning the vase, we see the chariot of the King and Queen of Hades, drawn by two dragons, and this in turn is followed by a Fury, or some personification of death, a naked, winged woman holding a scroll with the word, "Vanth," death.

No. 21 is almost identical with No. 19.

No. 20 represents a funeral car drawn by two mules, bearing the body to the sepulchre. This is followed by a scene from the underworld to which the spirit of the dead has migrated. The King of Hades appears in his chariot, preceded by a figure of Charun, and followed by a personi-

fication of death holding a closed book, significant of the life that has ended.

The Piazza del Duomo

In the **Piazza del Duomo** we have a group of four important buildings, the outcome of the religious enthusiasm of the citizens, and of the relations maintained by the town with the papal see.

The oldest building is probably the **Bishop's Palace,** behind the Cathedral, on the R. It is said to have been founded in 977, and was certainly enlarged and restored by Adrian IV. in 1150. Almost all traces, however, of the mediæval building have been removed by the restorations made in the sixteenth century. There are still some pointed windows carved with chequers on the face, as at the Palazzo del Popolo and at the Abbadia outside of the town.

Adjoining, and nearer to the piazza, is the **Palace of the Popes,** commonly called the **Palazzo Soliano** (the Museo Civico).

It was built in 1297 by order of Boniface VIII. for the reception of the pontifical ambassadors, and was given by the Commune to the Opera del Duomo in 1534.

Close beside it is the **Hospital** established for the poor in 1197 by a priest ; and facing the Duomo stands an imposing building, **the Palace of the Opera del Duomo,** built in 1359.

It is astonishing to find so many splendid erections in a small hill city, but both municipal and private palaces sink into insignificance beside the magnitude of the work of the **Duomo.** This cathedral church owes its existence to an outburst of popular piety and enthusiasm aroused by the miracle of Bolsena. The first stone was laid by Nicholas IV. in 1290, and the citizens, imposing a tax upon themselves to defray the cost, joined with the dwellers in the suburbs and surrounding districts in long-continued efforts to bring the great work to completion.

THE DUOMO

THE DATE AND STYLE OF THE BUILDING

[The Duomo of Orvieto is one of the most elaborate examples of that particular kind of pointed architecture which found favour for a comparatively short time south of the Alps. This style had been introduced into Italy in the last quarter of the twelfth century. Throughout the thirteenth century there was a tendency to naturalise many of the ideas that were moving architects and sculptors north of the Alps. The Italian architect employed the northern forms without sympathising fully in the northern spirit. In this case, however, the design is clear and decisive so far as the façade is concerned. The perpendicular tendency is maintained, the buttresses are not overloaded with ornament, and they control the horizontal lines successfully. The gables are steep, the doors are differentiated according to their importance, and there is an air of well defined and clearly expressed purpose. To all this the Southern atmosphere is added, in the rich variety of colour and elaborate handiwork: shafts and mouldings are cut into spirals filled with mosaic, or with delicately carved designs of leaves and fruit, cornices are carved, gables and pinnacles are crocketed, and yet in spite of a certain profusion in detail there is reserve and dignity in the broader aspect of the building.

Most of the mosaics are modern restorations; but at a sufficient distance, where the heavy forms and puerile attitudes are not distinguishable, the colour of these pictures has a fine effect. No monument in Italy can show a more lovely blending of marble shading off into delicate yellows and pinks than those which surround the great doorway and form a setting for the mosaics.

The piers which flank the western doors are covered with reliefs which are among the most interesting examples of this kind of sculpture in Italy. It is character-

istic that the work should be in relief, at a short distance from the building it has only the appearance of a richly embossed surface. The porches at Chartres remind us that the sculptors north of the Alps knew better how to make their work effective.

It has usually been assumed that Lorenzo Maitani of Siena was the first architect of the Duomo ; but if, as is supposed, Maitani was born in 1275, and the building was begun in 1290, we must look elsewhere. There is no direct evidence, and we must be content to know that the design for Orvieto followed the lines of the great Tuscan architects of the time, and that certainly in 1310, if not before, *Lorenzo Maitani* became architect.

In 1293 there is a record of the principal men who were connected with the work. They were Ramo di Paganello of Siena ; Fra Guglielmo, a pupil of Niccolo Pisano ; and Giacomo di Cosma Romana (of the Cosmati family). Fra Bevignate, who built the aqueduct at Perugia, was also there and he was Capo Operaio for some time before 1300.

At the time of the settlement of Maitani in 1310, it is supposed that the façade was still unbuilt, and it is thought that he altered the plan, so that the two sides were carried up higher, and were finished off with gables in the same way as the central member of the design.

In 1321 Maitani set up a factory for making material for the mosaics, and there are frequent entries in the accounts for glass from Venice. Marble was brought from Rome, from Carrara, and from Monte Specchio, near Siena, and alabaster was obtained at Montalcino.

When Lorenzo Maitani died in 1330, he was succeeded by his son *Niccolo,* who was assisted by his brother Vitale and a certain Meo of Orvieto. *Andrea Pisano* was appointed Capo Maestro in 1347. He was succeeded by his son, *Nino,* who began to build the Chapel of the Corporale in 1350—working on foundations that had been laid in the time of Maitani.

The round window of the façade is mentioned as early as 1354. It was carried on under *Andrea Orcagna,* who be-

came Capo Maestro in 1359. It was not finished until twenty years later.

In 1397 money was left to build the Capella Nuovo or Capella di S. Brizio. The work was begun in 1408 and finished in 1419.

In 1451 the design of the upper part of the façade was altered by Antonio Federighi. The row of niches above the circular window was added, thus raising the height of the central part of the building.

The statues for the niches round the circular window were not executed until long after. Moschino (d. 1578), Ippolito Scalza (working 1579), Raffaello da Montelupo, and others, were concerned in the sculpture between the years 1555 and 1578.]

On the **northern side** of the church the doorways are designed in a rich style, but with less variety of material. The side door to the **south** has a bronze relief on the lintel of Christ and the Apostles.

The Façade

[The building of the Duomo was due to a desire to commemorate **the miracle of Bolsena.** In it the Church saw a divine recognition of the sacrifice of the Mass. By this manifestation, the healing power of the Passion was confirmed to every man in the daily sacrament of the altar. The priest whose doubt was set at rest at Bolsena was only one among many who in the thirteenth century hesitated to accept the teaching of the Church, and the desire was natural that the miracle worked for his benefit should be made known to the world.

The general design of the church is therefore a testimony to the mystery of the Incarnation and its embodiment in the sacrament of the Eucharist. The dedication of the church was in the name of the Virgin Mary. It is in the teaching of S. Bernard, the spiritual leader of the twelfth century, that we realise the relation which the Virgin had to the religious feeling of the time. Madonna was the royal

way by which men could ascend to Christ, as by it He descended to mankind. She was the mediatrix and advocate between Christ and man. It was her abundant charity that concealed the multitude of men's sins.

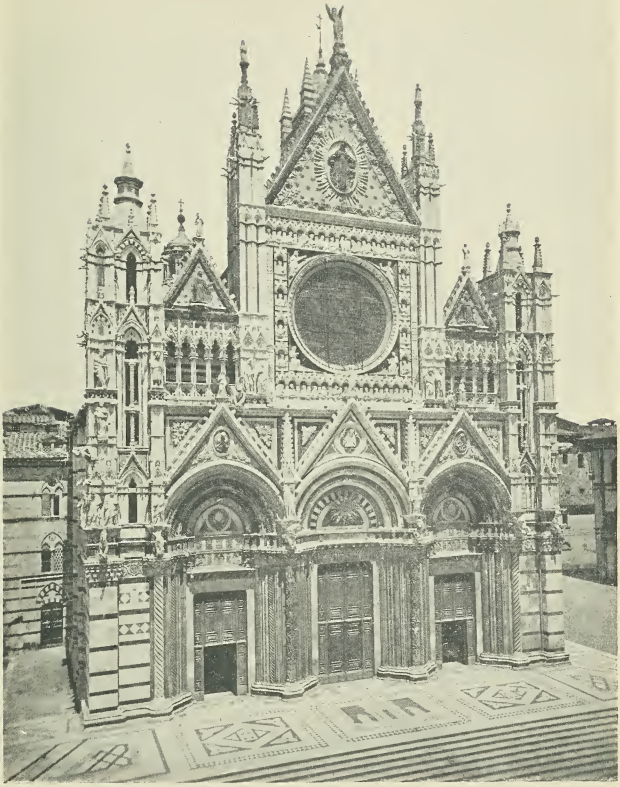
As the Incarnation is the central idea of the building, we find its realisation in the Divine Child seated on His mother's knee, placed in the most conspicuous point over the central doorway on the western façade. On the pinnacle above this doorway there is the Paschal Lamb, the sacrifice of the Passover being a type of the sacrifice of Christ. In the mosaics we have the detail of the life of the Virgin Mary. Around the Rose window are gathered the prophets, apostles, and doctors of the Church militant. And on the four piers about the western doors there is a history of the world from the time in which all things came forth from God until they return to their justification in Him.

The sculpture and the mosaic over the entire façade may be regarded as a mirror of the universe in which man may perceive the true nature of his being, and the whence and the whither of his existence.

The mosaics on the upper part of the façade depict the life of the Virgin. The picture over *the right-hand western door* represents the Nativity of Madonna. The angel appears to Joachim and to Anna, and at the sides there stand the prophets Nahum and Isaiah, with legends sufficiently preserved to enable us to identify their words. The extract from the prophecy of Nahum is contained in iii. 17, "When the sun is arisen the enemies of God flee away like locusts." The extract from Isaiah is in ix. 2, "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light."

In the *right-hand gable* there is the "Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple." In the corresponding *gable to the left* is the "Sposalizio," and over the left-hand door is the "Baptism of Christ," with the "Annunciation" immediately above it. *Over the central doorway* is the Assumption of Madonna, and in the *central gable* "the Coronation."

The wheel window has for its centre, Christ with a cruci-



Photograph : Alinari

THE FACADE OF THE CATHEDRAL, SIENA

Compare with the facade of the Cathedral at Orvieto

form nimbus, the niches at the side are occupied by twelve Prophets, and in the niches above the window are twelve Apostles. In the four corners are the four Doctors of the Latin Church; SS. Gregory and Jerome in the upper corners and SS. Ambrose and Augustine below. On the four piers above the doorways are the four symbols of the Evangelists. It is a realisation of the saying of S. Paul, "And he gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some pastors and teachers . . . that we henceforth be no more children . . . but that speaking the truth in love we may grow up unto Him in all things, which is the head, even Christ."]

The Sculpture on the Piers

[**Authorship and date of the bas-reliefs.** There is no direct evidence as to the authorship or date of these sculptures. There is a general agreement that they are due to followers of the school founded by Niccolo Pisano (1206?-1280), and continued under changing influences by Giovanni Pisano (d. 1320) and Andrea Pisano (died after 1349); but there is a difference of opinion as to whether the sculptors belonged to the company who had worked on the Duomo of Siena, or whether they were Florentines. The date is equally uncertain. Some authorities place the work as early as 1310, others believe that part of it is due to the time of Andrea Orcagna, who was Capo Maestro in 1359-1360. It is evident that several hands have been at work, and many years were probably spent upon it. In general effect there is more likeness to works of the Florentine school than to any known Sienese sculpture. The style suggests a date later than that of the panels on the Campanile at Florence. So far as such uncertain indications go, it may perhaps be tentatively accepted that the work was done about the middle of the fourteenth century, and under the influence of *Andrea Pisano*, Capo Maestro (1347-1349), and *Andrea Orcagna*, Capo Maestro (1359-1360).

These reliefs take their place with the Fountain at

Perugia (1280), the reliefs on the Campanile at Florence (after 1334), and the relief on the tabernacle of Or San Michele (*circa* 1360) as among the best of all Italian sculptures. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that these monuments are the finest works executed south of the Alps since the time of the great Greek masters.

It will be noticed that all the monuments just named (with some exception on the Fountain at Perugia) consist of works in more or less low-relief. This distinguishes them from the sculpture of French artists who were accustomed to work in the round.

In the Orvietan reliefs a certain over-graciousness takes the place of the strong imaginative quality of northern work. The figure of Christ fails in impressiveness, there is no fit conception of the creative power in act. So filled is the artist with the grace and beauty of this world that he fails to grasp the wider ideal; he is satisfied to represent the mystery of creation in terms of real life. If, on the one hand, Byzantine art disregards human feeling to concern itself mainly with the abstract and general, it is equally true that this Pisan-Florentine art loses the power of expressing the supernatural in its search after the emotions of ordinary humanity. We feel the want of ability to imagine an existence not limited by human conditions. We are not inspired with awe by a presence aloof from and beyond our own. Nor is the expression of the deeper passions of our nature successfully mastered. Such scenes as the Massacre of the Innocents and the Despair of the Damned are dealt with conventionally.

But when this is said there is little left to criticise. It would be hard to find anything more graceful and picturesque than the lower scenes on **the first pier.** There is complete command over form, either in rest or motion. We may notice, for instance, the subtle discrimination between the unanimated form of Adam and his form when lying asleep, while the graceful rendering of the angels has just that quality of distinction and reserve which distinguishes it from the works of the fifteenth-century

Renaissance. There is a variety of style even among these lower panels. Adam and Eve in the Garden, in Nos. 7 and 8 (Plan XIX.), show a tendency to shortness of body, largeness of head, and heaviness of feature, which is not found in the Creation series, No. 3, 4, and 5 (Plan XIX.).

The use of sculpture in bas-relief has allowed full play to the artist's sense for the beauty of landscape and the forms of vegetation, which add so great a charm to the design.

The second pier is considered the least interesting as a work of art. There is an easy command of method, there is freedom of pose and a sufficient sense of action, but there is a certain heaviness and want of distinction and a lack of vigour and feeling. The design at the foot of the pier where the prophets and rulers are seen, may be compared with the similar part of **the third pier.**

In the latter there is far more dramatic force, those who hold their scrolls are instinct with life, the character of the figures is more virile and of a higher type, the sleeping patriarch is more dignified. The love of landscape breaks out again in the third pier, as it does on the first; the scene is set among trees, each one of which is a study, there are olives and figs and many oaks such as those that still add a charm to the hills and valleys of Central Italy. The sculpture of the life of Christ is of fine quality. We are struck at once by the simplicity and the dramatic feeling of most of the scenes. The Annunciation, it is true, is somewhat artificial, but of any such fault the Visitation is entirely clear. There is a true balance between human feeling and the sense of the divine mystery which brings two women together. The Nativity adds a certain human grace and tenderness, making it as a whole one of the most beautiful representations in Italian art. The Adoration of the Magi is only second in merit to the Nativity. It suffers from overcrowding and it verges on the narrative style of treatment, and yet it is a fine work, worthy of the best traditions of a great school. The sculpture on **the fourth**

pier is less remarkable than the work on the first and third piers.]

The Subject of the designs on the piers is the drama of human salvation treated in an elaborate system of type and antitype.

Each design is pictured in the form of a tree, and the leading idea is the opposition of the expectation of the Prophets, with the realisation of the Gospel.

The First Pier

(**Plan XIX.**, p. 331)

The ivy branches in which the subjects are set symbolise everlasting life. They are typical of the idea that those who die in Christ never cease to live.

Begin with *the lower panels*. We are at once struck with the fact that the subject is not historically treated. It is not a sculptured version of the early chapters of Genesis; it is an attempt to set forth the spiritual significance of the facts, and to suggest the relationship between the Creator and humanity. The work of the first four days appear in its results only, nor is the Rest of the seventh day represented. It is only the creation of the fifth and sixth days, when fowls, fishes, cattle, creeping things, and man were made, that is shown to us in operation.

The work of creation in the first panel is effected by the Trinity, represented by the Hand of God, by the figure of Christ, and by the Dove of the Holy Spirit. The manifestation of power by means of the Hand, gives existence; the Wisdom of the Word gives the rational nature by which man becomes deserving of praise and blame; the Love of the Holy Spirit gives holiness, by which man is capable of receiving the righteousness of God.

The account of Creation in Genesis was regarded as a type of the way of God with man. The Spirit that moved on the face of the waters was significant of that divine power which substituted for the disorder of human sinfulness the divine order. The herb-yielding seed is the soul

Photograph : Alinari

CREATION

(Probably by Andrea Pisano after the design of Giotto.
Campanile, Florence.

Compare with the Creation Scenes on the first pier of the facade, Orvieto

zealous to do good works. The lights which are set in the firmament signify the gifts of the Spirit. Man was created in the image of God, which signifies that he should be able to know. He was created in the likeness of God so that he might love.

Thus the creation of temporal things became a mirror, in which man saw reflected the conditions of his spiritual life.

No. 1 on the Plan XIX. (p. 331) represents **the work of the fifth day.** There is the firmament above, in which are the sun, moon, and stars. Below are the waters which have been gathered together, there is also the dry land and there are fruit-bearing trees. Fishes and birds have just come into existence as manifestations of the creative power of the Trinity, represented by the Hand, by Christ, and by the Dove.

No. 2. **Creation of Beasts** and creeping things.

No. 3. **Creation of the body of man,** in which the unanimated figure lies on the ground.

No. 4. The still unanimated figure stands before Christ, who conveys the living spirit (*Par.* vii. 137, 144).

No. 5. **Adam lies asleep** on the ground, while Christ bends over him and cuts the rib from his side.

The sleep of Adam is a type of the sleep of Christ upon the Cross, and as from the side of the sleeping Adam came the woman Eve, so from the side of Christ came forth the Sacraments of the Church.

No. 6. The final act of Creation is that in which **Eve** rises from the side of Adam. She is animated by the informing hand of Christ laid on her shoulder. We now pass from Creation to the state of mankind in the world.

No. 7. **Adam and Eve are placed in Paradise,** and they are forbidden to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. In each of these scenes Christ is attended by two angels, and in this panel one of them seems to pray that man may be preserved from the coming temptation which the other indicates by a warning gesture. Adam and Eve stand under a fig-tree, and behind them is the fountain from

which come the four rivers of Paradise. This is a figure of the source of grace which is spread over the earth even as the streams flow from the garden to the four quarters of the world.

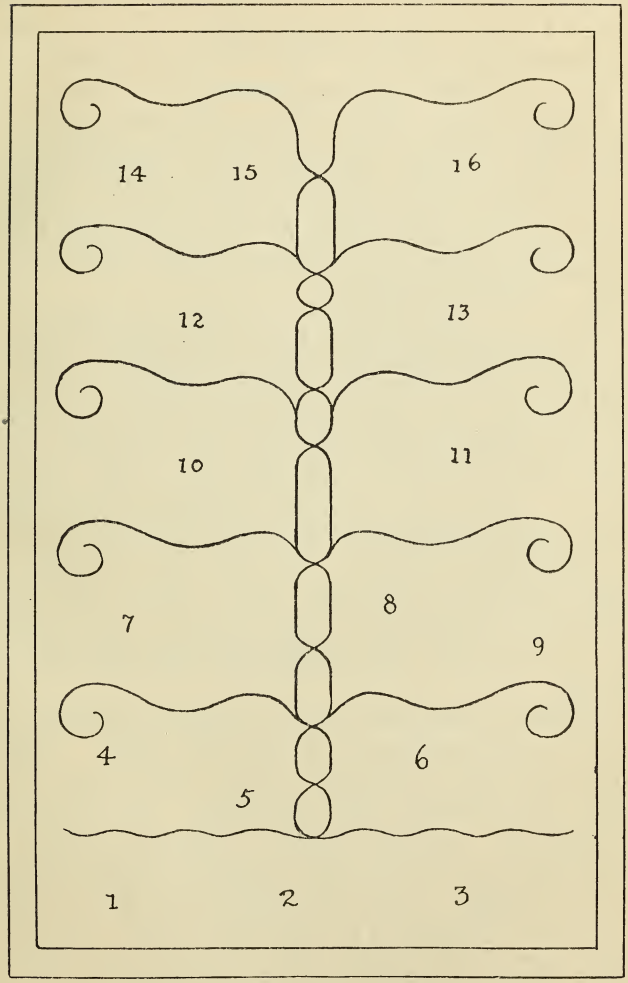
No. 8. **Temptation and Fall.** The Devil took the form of a serpent. He is twined round the stem of the fig-tree, and the fang of the reptile is thrust towards Eve as she gives the forbidden fruit to Adam. The newly created pair were not content to discern good and evil by commandment, they must learn by experience, and in their disobedience they became subject to death. Man lost the light of the invisible and became absorbed in the visible. Salvation was only possible in so far as the inner sense which was thus lost could be restored. It is the history of this restoration which is set forth on the rest of the sculpture. It is completed in the final vision of the fourth pier, where the blessed see God as He is.

No. 9 represents the shame and confusion of Adam and Eve as they hide under the trees from the sight of God, who called Adam as He walked in the garden. In trying to represent the misery of the Fall the sculptor has lost the conception of the wider issues involved ; he shows us the personal degradation rather than the tragedy of the entrance of disorder into the world.

No. 10. **The Expulsion** from Paradise. An angel lays his hand on the shoulder of Adam as a warning that they must leave the garden. Already there is a line of flame and a six-winged seraph with a drawn sword guarding against any return.

No. 11. **Adam hoeing** and Eve spinning. This is the beginning of the work of restoration. It was provided that man should be rescued from some of the physical effects of the Fall by the labour of this present life. The necessity of the discipline of labour was thoroughly recognised in mediæval society. In the rules of S. Basil and S. Benedict work was one of the primary duties, and the former specially provided that devotional exercises should be no excuse for avoiding the duty of labour.

Nos. 12 and 13. The Sacrifices of **Cain** and **Abel** and the



Plan XIX.—First Pier, Duomo, Orvieto

Death of Abel. These two sons of Adam were regarded as the founders of the two cities, the mystical Jerusalem and

the mystical Babylon. Abel was the first-fruits of that Church which existed from the beginning of the world. Cain is a figure of the Jewish people, for as he was separated by the mark set upon him, so the legal ordinances of their law separated the Jews from those who lived in the light of the Gospel. The sacrifice of Abel was the type of the Passion of Christ, and in death he was also a figure of Him. Cain's sacrifice failed for want of a right intention; he is the type of the Scribes and Pharisees, who fulfilled their duties outwardly but within were full of wickedness. Abel and Cain are opposed as representing the two principles of order and disorder.

Nos. 14, 15, 16 represent a child learning **grammar,** a man **playing on bells,** and a student of **geometry.** It is an epitome of the development of human energy. Grammar is the door through which the child passes in his first search after knowledge. Music stands for that principal of proportion and symmetry which enters into every relation, physical, mental, and spiritual. It was regarded as a type of the common bond by which all things are composed into one harmonious creation. Geometry was considered as being the study of immovable matter, and its significance consisted in its tendency to lead men to perceive continuous existence and the unchangeable essence that lies beyond.

Grammar, music, and geometry epitomise, therefore, the arts by which man learned to satisfy his wants. Through these arts social life became possible, and so cities were built and kingdoms were established. The knowledge necessary for practical life led to the higher studies of philosophy, and these in their turn led to the searching out of divine things. That which connects this series of sculptures with the others is the hope that is held out to mankind, even in the Fall and the expulsion from Paradise. Every detail of creation was a type of divine mercy. In the scene of the Temptation and Fall there is the fountain, the type of divine grace. In the Murder of Abel there is the type of the sacrifice of Christ. In the scenes of labour and

of the invention of the arts there is the beginning of the work of restoration.

The Second Pier

(**Plan XX.**, p. 338)

The second pier has for its central idea the tree of the **human ancestry of the Messiah** springing from Jesse (No. 17). In the branches of the tree are described the visions of the Prophets in which they foresaw the coming of Christ. The following description includes only the panels which appear to carry on the main idea of the sculptures. There are at the sides subsidiary scenes, but these have not been identified. No evidence exists which warrants us in deciding what the various scenes on this pillar were intended to represent, nor are the subjects obvious. The following attributions must only be accepted as suggestions, and for these we are in many instances indebted to Mrs A. H. Smith and Miss Margaret Smith.

Above the figure of Jesse are **six righteous Kings** of the House of David (No. 18). The first king has a harp, and he may be identified as David ; the young king above is perhaps Solomon. Those above have been supposed to be Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah. Above these is Madonna (No. 19) and Christ (No. 20.) They both bear closed books, for " the words are closed up and sealed till the end of time " (Dan. xii. 9).

No. 21. The skeleton of Adam in its coffin recalls the saying of S. Paul, " For since by man came death, by man also came the resurrection of the dead " (1 Cor. xv. 20.) The sculpture on this pier is the expression of **the vision** which the **Hebrew prophets** had of the coming of the Man who was to liberate humanity from the bondage of death.

There are in the lower courses a number of figures, Nos. 22 and 23. They are probably those of prophets and rulers of the people of the Jews. One of these, however, with covered feet and with a crown or garland on his head, has been identified as Virgil, who was supposed to have pro-

phesied of Christ in quoting the vision of the Cumæan Sibyl. (See Panel 28.)

Nos. 24 and 25. **Balaam's Ass** sees the angel and Balaam prophesies concerning the Star which shall come out of Jacob (Numb. xxiv. 17).

No. 26. **Gideon** wrings the water out of the fleece; the dry fleece also lies on the ground. God's choice of Mary when He desired to be incarnate was prefigured by the fleece of Gideon, which alone was wet; so Mary alone of the many daughters of Israel was found worthy. The water wrung out of the fleece was a figure of the grace which comes by Christ, while the dry fleece signified the people of the Jews.

No. 27. The Consecration of **David** by the prophet Samuel. This passing from the care of the sheepfolds to the ruling of men was a type of how the Gospel was offered to the Gentiles, when the Jews, the sheep of the flock, would not hear it. Jesse, the father of David, holds up his hands in the attitude of prayer as if he had a vision of the descent of the Spirit on his son (1 Sam. xvi. 6-13).

No. 28. This scene has been identified as representing the prophecy of the **Cumæan Sibyl** quoted by Virgil. An old man presents the Child to two women, who hold between them a globe. The reference made by Virgil to the Sibylline verse runs as follows: "The last age of the Cumæan song comes, the great series of ages takes rise from the beginning. Now the virgin returns, now the kingdoms of Saturn return. Now a new lineage is sent down from heaven. Be favourable, O pure Lucina, to the boy at his birth, through whom the iron age will first be brought to an end, and the golden age will arise over the whole world."

No. 29. Christ in the act of blessing appears to a number of men and women who hold up their hands in adoration. It is probably a description of Isaiah ix. 2: "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined." (See Matt. iv. 12-16 and Ephes. v. 8.)

No. 30. This scene is probably a comment on Dan. ii. 34, in which the prophet sees **a stone cut without hands.** It became a great mountain and filled the whole earth, as by faith in Christ all the ends of the earth are filled.

No. 31. This is a reference to Ezekiel xlvii. 1-13, in which waters issue from under the threshold of the house of the Lord. These waters make a great river going down into the desert and into the sea, healing its waters. Everything shall live whithersoever it comes, and on its banks shall grow every tree for meat, whose leaf shall not wither, neither shall the fruit thereof fail (see also Rev. xxii. 1-2). The windows and doors of the church to the R. of the panel are filled with foliage.

No. 32 probably represents the childhood of Immanuel (Isa. vii. 14). Below we see the results of the establishment of this power, typified by the change of nature which causes beasts, savage and tame alike, to live together in peace and harmony (see Isa. xi. 1-9, also Matt. i. 23).

No. 33. **The Vision of Ezekiel,** i. 4-28, in which the prophet sees the likeness of the four living creatures. The sculpture shows us Christ in an aureole in the act of blessing, and surrounded by the four creatures. The living creature having the likeness of a man represents reason, the creature with the likeness of an ox stands for the spirit of sacrifice, the lion symbol is the type of fortitude and justice, and the eagle stands for contemplation. Thus the four symbols represented the light of the Gospel, and taken together they stood for Christ. It was a vision of the time when the Gospel would take the place of Law, and when Christ would do away with its ordinances.

No. 34. This represents the story in 2 Maccabees iii. 14-40. The priests of the Temple at Jerusalem acted as guardians of money belonging to widows and orphans. King Antiochus sent **Heliodorus** to take this treasure. When the latter was in the treasury with his guards there appeared a horse with a terrible rider. Heliodorus was smitten to the ground, and two young men, notable in strength and beautiful in glory, beat him with many

stripes. On the intercession of Onias, the high priest, his life was granted to him, and he offered a sacrifice and vowed vows seeing that he had thus escaped. When the king asked Heliodorus who else should be sent, he answered that if there were any enemy or any conspirator against the king he should go, for there was about the place a power of God. The chastisement of Heliodorus was regarded as a type of Christ driving out the money-changers from the Temple.

No. 35. This panel probably represents the prophecy of Isaiah ii. and iii., in which the **destruction of Jerusalem** is foreseen as the result of the backsliding of the nation. The particular part chosen for representation may be that spoken of in Isaiah iii. 13-14: "The Lord standeth up to plead, and standeth to judge the people. The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of his people and the princes thereof: for ye have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses."

No. 36. This is probably a reference to Zech. xi. 12, "So they weighed for my hire thirty pieces of silver," which was understood by the commentators as a prophecy of the betrayal. We are also reminded by such passages as 1 Samuel ii. 3 and Proverbs xvi. 2, that God's ways are not as man's ways, and that it is God who weigheth the spirits.

No. 37 is probably a representation of the vision in 2 Esdras ix. 38-47 and x. 1-17, in which a woman sorrowing for her son comes out of the city into the field, and mourns and fasts so that she may die. The woman (2 Esdras x. 44-49) is Zion; she mourns for the City of Jerusalem, whose destruction is signified by the death of the woman's son. Then is shown to the prophet (2 Esdras x. 50-54) the future brightness of the glory and the comeliness of the beauty of the city of the Most High, even as it had been shown to the woman in the field (2 Esdras x. 16) that she should again receive her son and be praised among women.

No. 38. **The Crucifixion.** This is not a representation of the historical event, but rather a recognition of the pro-

phetic view that it was the victory on the Cross by which the bonds of sin were to be loosed, and the whole world to be reconciled. The sun and the moon, the only details of the picture, recall Psalms cxlviii. 2-3. They were also supposed to represent the two Testaments and likewise the divine and human nature united in Christ.

No. 39. The " man Gabriel " appears to the prophet Daniel (ix. 21-26), and shows him when " the annointed one, **the prince** " **shall come,** and how " the anointed one " shall be cut off.

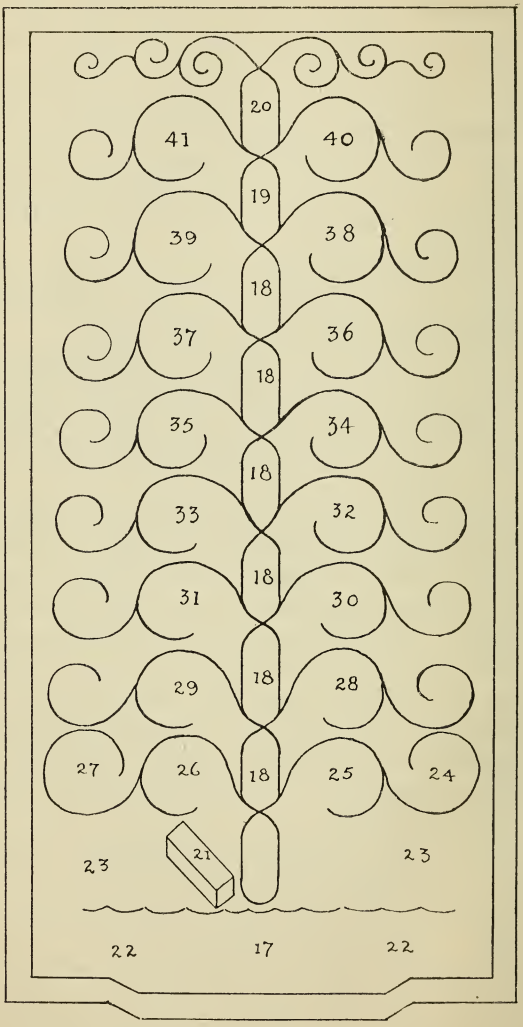
No. 40 probably refers to the declaration made in Malachi iv. 2, " But unto you that fear My name, shall the **sun of righteousness arise** with healing in His wings."

No. 41. The Archangel Gabriel in **Annunciation.** He flies towards Madonna, who sits in the central line below Christ. Mary raises her hand as she says, " Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word " (Luke i. 38).

This series of prophecies is remarkable, inasmuch as it represents the spirit of the Kingdom of Christ to which the world looked forward, rather than any mere accordance between the terms of prophecy and the actual events of the life of Christ. It would have been easy to take each fact as described on the third pier and give its exact prophetical parallel on the second. Something more than that has been attempted : the prophecies of the second pier have a direct bearing on the coming of Christ ; but there is also everywhere a suggestion of the spiritual results that are to mark the new order.

The new horizon is the subject of the Sibyl's prophecy (No. 28); the new spirit, which is to animate it, is the note of the vision of Ezekiel (No. 33). The descent of the Spirit and the gift of grace are foreseen in the Consecration of David (No. 27), and the dew which Gideon wrings out of the fleece (No. 26). The new life, which the Gospel is to bring with it, is described by the river which brings healing to all things (No. 31). The scene from Isaiah (No. 29) shows that this new life will no longer be lived in a world of

shadows, but in the full light of the skill and understanding



Plan XX.—Second Pier, Duomo, Orvieto

which Gabriel comes to give to Daniel (No. 39). The

stone which fills the earth (No. 30) is a figure of all-pervading Faith; the prophet preaches Hope to the mother who has lost her son, and who is to regain him (No. 37); while in the Crucifixion (No. 38) there is the supreme sacrifice prompted by Love. The stories of Balaam (Nos. 24, 25) and Heliodorus (No. 34) illustrate the power of the Spirit when it is opposed to the worldly element in men's lives, and the prophecy of Isaiah (No. 35) warns against a selfish oppression of the poor. Finally there is the contrast between the disobedience ending in the death of Adam, and the obedience of Mary, which leads to the fulfilment of all prophecy and to the beginning of the reign of the spiritual and harmonious life, which is the note of the new era.

The Third Pier

(**Plan XXI.**, p. 342)

We now turn to the third pier, on which is sculptured a history of **the life of Christ.** The Doctors of the Middle Ages taught, that they who desired to behold the Glory of Christ's Divine Nature must follow the journey of His mortal life; we have therefore such epitomes as the one before us. The choice of subjects, limited as it is pretty closely to those connected with the Nativity and Passion, indicates that the intention was to direct the mind to the Incarnation.

Mediæval thinkers were accustomed to regard mankind as forming a mystical Body which existed for some purpose or end, and which was directed towards it by some vivifying principle. The purpose or end of mankind was reunion with the Creator, and the vivifying principle was Christ, who was conceived of as the Head of the mystical Body composed of mankind as a whole. The sculpture of this third pier was intended to explain this vivifying principle in action, and to show how it affects the life of each individual man. The sculpture springs from the sleeping

form of Abraham (No. 42), and it records the fulfilment of the promise made to him : " In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed " (Gen. xii. 3).

The tree which branches out from this root has in its main stem **the spiritual ancestry of Christ**—the Prophets (No. 43), who foresaw His coming, and who predicted the salvation which He was to bring.

It is the tree of the Gospel. It is the tree which through man's disobedience had become the tree of death, and has now become the tree of life.

We begin at the lower left-hand corner with the **Annunciation** (No. 44). This scene marks the reconcilement of the world with God. The true light has descended from heaven. The hopes and desires of the Patriarchs and Prophets have been heard. Madonna bears a closed book, which the author of Isa. xxix. 11 says the learned men of Jerusalem would not read and the unlearned could not read. The prophecy usually associated with the Annunciation is that in Isa. vii. 14.

No. 45, **The Visitation,** was connected with the prophecy of Obadiah i. 1. The scene portrayed was the occasion of the Magnificat. This song of rejoicing marked the contrast between the lowliness of Mary and the pride of our first parents.

No. 46. **The Nativity.** The relative prophecy is that of Isa. ix. 6. The ox and the ass were by some considered as types of the Jewish and Gentile nations who were united in the birth of the Son of Justice.

No. 47. **The Adoration of the Magi.** This was regarded as the call of the Gentiles. In these three Magi, all people worship the Author of the universe. Many prophecies were considered to be predictions of their visit, the most usual one being Ps. lxxii. 15. Gold was offered to the Child in His character as King. Myrrh was offered to His humanity and incense to His divinity.

No. 48. **The Presentation in the Temple** prophesied in Mal. iii. 1. The old age of Simeon was a figure of the " old man," Simeon bearing the Child was the assumption of

Photograph: Alinari

NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN

(By Andrea Orcagna. Shrine of Or San Michele, Florence)

Compare with scenes from the Life of Christ on the third pier at Orvieto

the "new man." It was a figure of the passing from the shadow of the Law to the light of the Gospel.

No. 49. **The Flight into Egypt** (see Ps. lv. 6-8 and Hos. xi. 1). The Child went down into Egypt so that grace might appear to the people among whom the slaying of the Lamb first foreshadowed the health-bringing sign of the Cross.

No. 50, **The Massacre of the Innocents,** was predicted in Joel iii. 19, and was a foreshadowing of the persecutions which the Church was destined to pass through.

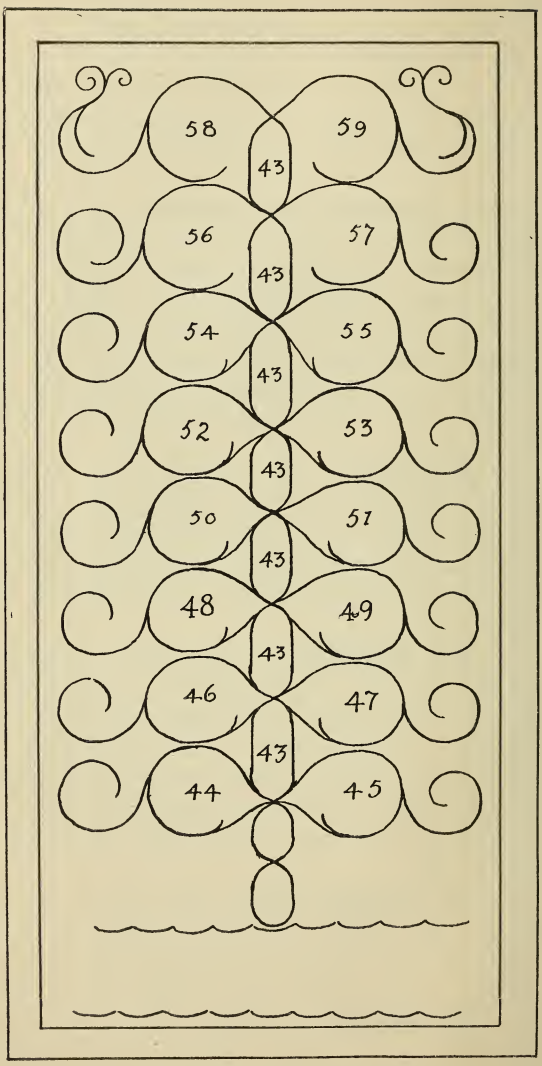
No. 51. Christ among **the Doctors,** is associated with Jer. viii. 9. This incident was considered as a warning of how the darkness of unbelief not only prevents the light from penetrating to the understanding, but confuses the apprehension of the knowledge on which the unbeliever prides himself.

No. 52. **The Baptism.** See 2 Kings v. 10. Christ was baptised not that He might be cleansed but so that he might sanctify water as the symbol of purification for man. The opening of the heavens, when the dove descended, was significant of the opening of the heavenly kingdom to the regenerate soul.

No. 53. **The Temptation.** The relative prophecy is found in Nahum i. 11. In the history of Christ's temptation men saw the struggle which they themselves had to pass through. They thought of it as inevitable, they accepted it as a necessary element in the strengthening of character, they saw in it the opportunity of self-knowledge, they rejoiced in it, for they thought that victory brought the crown of life.

No. 54. **The Triumphal Entry,** Zech. ix. 9. This scene signified the entry which Christ was to make into heaven, while the lament over Jerusalem foreshadowed the grief for the souls who would not hear the message of the Gospel.

No. 55. **The Betrayal,** Ps. xli. 9. The choice made by Judas is a figure of the choice made by those who prefer material or worldly shadows to spiritual and celestial realities.



Plan XXI.—Third Pier, Duomo, Orvieto

No. 56. **The Flagellation,** Ps. xxxviii. 18. It was thought that in suffering from the Crown of Thorns Christ cancelled the curse which had fallen on the earth for the sin of Adam. He who though blameless suffered scourging showed what sinful men ought to do in punishment of their evildoing.

No. 57. **The Crucifixion,** Isa. liii. 5. This is an abstract of the usual representation of the scene with Madonna and S. John at the foot of the Cross and the inscription on the tree. The view of the early Church as to the significance of the Crucifixion is fitly summed up in the saying of Leo the Great, "For who could overcome the world's hatred, the blasts of temptation, the terror of persecutors, had not Christ in the name of all and for all said to the Father, 'Thy will be done'?"

No. 58. **The Maries at the Tomb,** Ps. cxxxix. 18. Dante considers the three women as figures of the Epicureans, the Stoics, and the Peripatetics—that is, those who live in the active life. They search for their beatitude in the things of this present world of unrealities—that is, in the empty tomb. The angel who represents the divine element in man directs them to contemplation as the true beatitude. For though an imperfect state of blessedness is found in the exercise of the moral virtues of the active life, beatitude is only perfected when the intellect contemplates God and ponders on Him in His purpose.

No. 59. "**Noli me tangere.**" Mary Magdalene was regarded as a type of the Gentile Church, which did not believe, until after Christ had ascended into heaven, and hence it was supposed came the command.

The sculptures of the third pier show us the fulfilment of the expectation of the old world, and present a forecast of the spiritual life which was to be the vivifying principle of the new.

The Fourth Pier

(**Plan XXII.**, p. 345)

This pier concludes the drama of human life. The design takes the form of a tree, the vine, fruit-bearing, a

symbol of the souls who are gathered to the communion of heaven.

In the upper part of the pier we see "that most brilliant senate set in this most splendid senate-house."

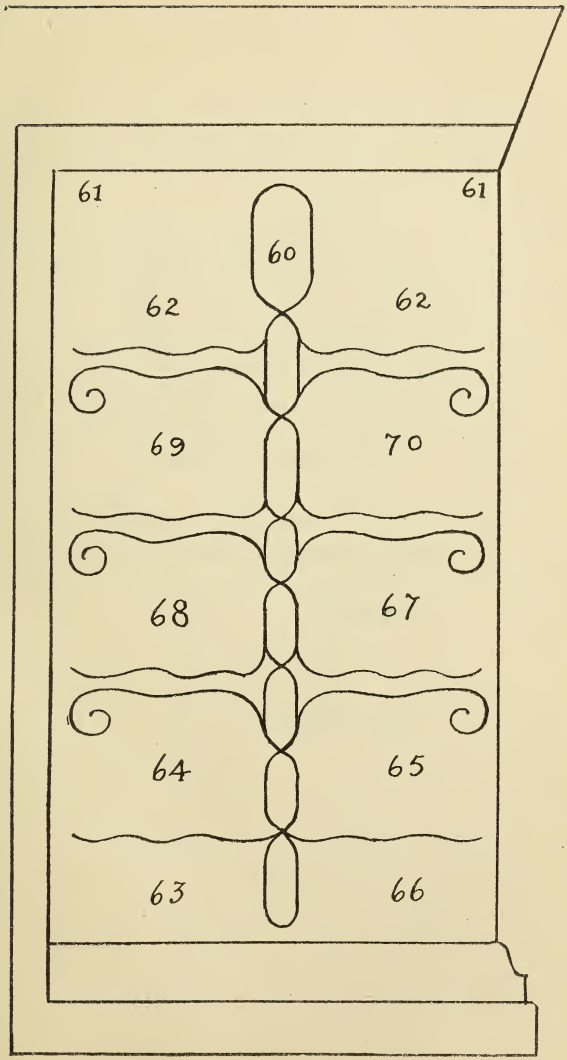
In the centre Christ is seated (No. 60) surrounded by the choirs of angels, to the R. and L. are the symbols of the Passion, and beyond are angels (No. 61) sounding the trumpets which summon to the Resurrection. On the L. of Christ sits the Prophets with S. John the Baptist (No. 62), and on the R. are the Apostles with Madonna (No. 62).

At the bottom of the pier the dead are rising out of the tombs (No. 63). In the panel above this (No. 64) the Elect are assembling, and in the panel to the spectator's R. is the company of the damned (No. 65). Below (in panel No. 66) is Hell. Between these lower sculptures and the upper part of the design where Christ is seated there are four panels (Nos. 67, 68, 69, 70) in which the blessed are shown approaching the throne; they are guided and encouraged by angels. In No. 69 there is an assembly of men, including S. Francis and a Pope, supposed to be Nicholas IV., while women are gathered in No. 70.

This company of the saints is about to enjoy the vision of the Divine glory, regarded by mediæval speculation as the true refreshment of the soul.

For those who have found their goal in the transitory things of this life there is also an everlasting state. We see it in the panels No. 65 and 66, where the damned are gathered together to suffer the tortures of hell (No. 66). The artist has tried to realise the thought of S. Gregory the Great—how great is the confusion of the wicked when the Eternal Judge is discerned without, and sin is set in review before the eyes within.

In its relation to the other piers this is the one in which the whole scheme comes to fruition. The Creation on the first pier is followed by the Fall. Then begins the work of restoration in the institution of labour and of the arts and sciences. The second pier shows the early development of



Plan XXII.—Fourth Pier, Duomo, Orvieto

the spiritual life of the world, and how it advanced with the hope and expectation of a Messiah, as its principle of life. The third pier continues the history in the light of the fulfilment of all hopes and promises, and under the influence of the example of the life of Christ among men. The goal of all striving, the end of all effort, is reached on the fourth pier, where the blessed stand in the sight of God and enjoy the full communion of saints.

Interior. The nave and aisles are covered with wooden roofs; the choir and transepts are vaulted nearly to the height of the roof-tree of the nave. The ground plan is perfectly simple: there are no side aisles in the transepts, therefore there is no complex vista of columns as at Siena. The nave arcade is formed of six columns and piers. Both walls and pillars are built in alternate courses of black and white marble. The capitals are unusually shallow, most of them boldly and deeply cut. In a few cases birds are introduced amongst the foliage with graceful effort. One capital has human and animal heads.

The spectral-looking frescoes of the choir give character to the general effect of the building, otherwise dependent upon dignified spaciousness.

The Choir

(**Plan XXIII.**, p. 350)

[*Ugolino di Prete Ilario* was commissioned to paint the frescoes in the choir in 1370. He died in 1384, leaving the work unfinished. *Giacomo da Bologna* undertook to paint here in 1491, and *Pinturicchio* was employed in 1492. In 1496 he painted two of the Doctors. *Antonio da Viterbo* (1497-1499) is supposed to have painted the angel in the Annunciation and some other parts of the frescoes.

The subject of the frescoes is the coming of Christ and the life of the Virgin. In the vaults Christ in glory and the Holy Spirit are manifested. In the lunettes are the Prophets. On the walls the Apostles, Evangelists and Doctors. On the lower parts of the walls the life of the Virgin is repre-

sented as the direct and intimate link between the human and divine natures.]

(a) *On the vault* over the entrance is Christ with Seraphim and Cherubim.

(c) *On the vault* to the R. of Christ, the Dove of the Holy Spirit spreads the rays of its power over all the people of the earth.

(d) *On the vault* to the L. of Christ are the orders of angels.

On the side walls of the choir to the L.—No. 1, S. John the Evangelist; No. 2, S. Matthew; No. 3, S. Augustine; No. 4, S. Jerome. *On the right wall*—No. 32, S. Mark; No. 33, S. Gregory. The defaced parts of the wall at Nos. 30 and 31 no doubt had figures of S. Luke and S. Ambrose.

The circular window (A) to the L. has traces of the Apostles, each contributing one of the parts of the Creed. The paintings round the window to the R. (B) have been destroyed.

The spiritual forces of the old and the new dispensations are suggested in the lunettes (f) and (g) over the side walls. *To the right*, at (f), there are Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; Isaiah, Jeremiah, and S. John the Baptist. *To the left*, at (g), there are the Martyrs, SS. Laurence and Stephen; the Martyrs and Virgins, SS. Lucy and Agnes; S. Martin, who parted his robe with the beggar; and S. Sylvester and Constantine the Pope and the Emperor who established Christianity in the West. The same contrast between the old and the new is kept up in the frescoes round the lancet window in the eastern wall. *To the right* are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Melchisedek, Joseph, Moses, and Job. *To the left*, SS. Ignatius, Vincentius, Nicholas, and SS. Mary Magdalene, Catherine, Antonina, and Agnes.

We must next consider the pictures relating to the life of **the Virgin.** They begin with the story of her father and mother, Joachim and Anna. Joachim was of the city of Nazareth, and Anna was a Bethlehemite. They lived a simple and charitable life, giving a third of their goods to the Temple, a third to the needy, and a third they kept

for their own necessities. At the feast of the Dedication Joachim's offering was refused, he being childless. In his discomfiture he went to dwell with his herdsmen, and thither an angel was sent in answer to his prayers. A daughter was promised to him, and he was bidden to go to the Golden Gate at Jerusalem, where he should meet his wife, Anna. To her likewise there was sent an angel, who gave the same message. Thus when they met they knew that the promise was confirmed to them. In like fashion as Sarah bare Isaac in her old age, and as Rebecca after a long time became the mother of Joseph, so to Anna there came, as the special gift of God, the child Mary.

No. 5. Joachim is driven out from the Congregation. An angel appears to him.

No. 6. An angel appears to Anna.

No. 7. Joachim and Anna meet at the Golden Gate.

No. 8. Nativity of the Virgin.

No. 9. When three years of age she was dedicated to the service of God, and was brought to the Temple. Until she was fourteen years old she lived within the precincts, being visited daily by angels. When she reached the proper age she refused to leave the Temple and to be given in marriage. The High Priest, therefore, by command of a voice from the ark, called together the men of the house of David, and when their rods were laid on the altar a dove rested on the one belonging to Joseph, and he was betrothed to Mary (No. 10).

No. 11. The Annunciation. The willing submission of Mary to the message of the angel was an evidence of her deep humility, as opposed to the sin of pride (*Purg.* x. 40.)

No. 12. The Salutation. The haste with which Mary set out to visit Elizabeth was used as an example against the sloth which benumbs spiritual life (see *Purg.* xviii. 102). Her love for Elizabeth and her readiness to serve were cited by S. Bonaventura as evidence of that charity which prompts man to love his neighbour.

No. 13. The chastity of Mary is revealed to Joseph in a

vision. In *Purg.* xxv. 128 she appears to the souls who are being purified as the symbol of this virtue.

No. 14. Joseph takes Mary to his own house.

No. 15. The Nativity of Christ. The lowly circumstance of the birth of the Child is set before the Avaricious in *Purg.* xx. 19 as an example.

No. 16. Adoration of the Shepherds. No. 17. The Circumcision. No. 18. The Adoration of the Magi. No. 19. The Presentation in the Temple. No. 20. The Flight into Egypt.

No. 21. Defaced.

No. 22. The Child with the Doctors in the Temple.

No. 23. Joseph and Mary miss the Child.

No. 24. They find Him in the Temple.

No. 25. They chide Him. The meekness of Mary's reproof is used as an example to those who are being cleansed from the sin of Anger in *Purg.* xv. 83.

The frescoes from Nos. 15 to 25 represent the life of the Virgin in its immediate relationship to that of the Child. They also suggest how her life was regarded as an example of the virtues by which a man's nature is perfected.

The history is taken up again in

No. 26 (Plan XXIII.). An angel announces that the soul of Mary will be taken from her body on the third day.

No. 27. The Apostles, who were miraculously called from where they were preaching, kneel round the bed. The night was spent in holy communion, and in the morning the soul was parted from the body and was carried up in the arms of Christ.

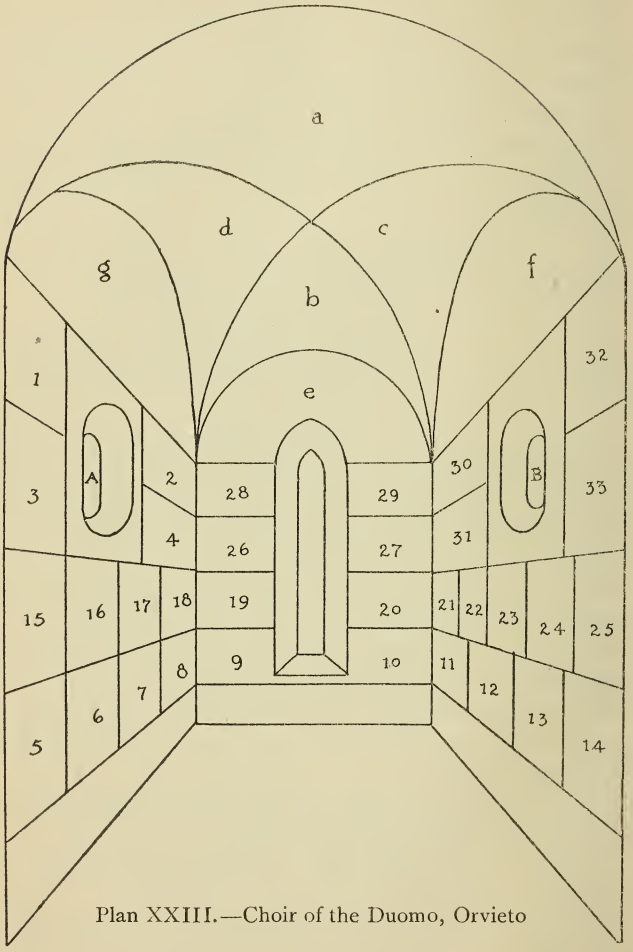
No. 28. The body of the Virgin was laid in a sepulchre, and there it remained for three days.

No. 29. On the third day the body of the Virgin was raised from the tomb.

(e.) In the lunette over the window is the Ascension of the Virgin.

(b.) The Coronation of the Virgin. This consummation was regarded as the fulfilment of the saying in Rev. iii. 21, "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with Me on My

throne." It was a pledge of that glory which is to be the lot of all faithful souls.



Plan XXIII.—Choir of the Duomo, Orvieto

These frescoes vary in merit. Christ receiving Madonna in the scene of the Coronation, the figure of the Virgin in the Sposalizio, Christ among the Doctors, and the Child found

by His parents are all fair examples of an art that does not take a first place. On the other hand, the Expulsion of Joachim and the Return of Joseph and Mary to their house are coarse and unsatisfactory. If, however, the paintings be judged as a whole and from some little distance, it will be seen that the clear shadowless colour and the simple dignity of the forms yield a most harmonious result. This *naïf* art, untroubled with the problems that beset the men of the Renaissance, relies for its charm on the simplicity and directness of its means. It finds a fit object in the story of Madonna, in which S. Bonaventura saw reflected, as in a mirror, all that makes for goodness and truth.

To the R. of the entrance to the choir is the **Cappella de Magi,** for which Sammicheli, who was Capo Maestro (1514-1521), furnished a design. When Clement VII. brought Sangallo to Orvieto after the sack of Rome, he also made a design. Both were submitted to the Pope, who decided in favour of that by Sammicheli. In 1535 Simone Mosca was employed, having for his assistants his son Francesco, a youth of fifteen, and Raffaello da Montelupo. The bas-relief is due to them, and the work was finished in 1546.

To the L. of the choir is a relief of **the Visitation,** designed by Simone Mosca in 1546. His son Francesco worked at it for a short time, and then left. He was recalled in 1550, and, with the help of Ippolito Scalza and others, the work was finished in 1554.

Cappella della Madonna di S. Brizio

[The chapel opening out of the R. transept is known as **the Cappella della Madonna di San Brizio** from a miracle-working picture which is still over the altar. The building was begun in 1408. At the sides of the window in the end wall of the chapel are the figures of two bishops supposed

to represent SS. Brizio and Costanzo. S. Brizio was bishop of Spoleto or Assisi in the first century, and S. Peter is said to have given him power to consecrate pastors in the churches he should visit. S. Costanzo was a bishop of Perugia; he was martyred in the second century. In 1447 the painting of the chapel was begun by *Fra Angelico*, who painted the Christ in the vault over the high altar, and the group of prophets in the vault to the R.; he is also said to have drawn the design for the group of martyrs. After Fra Angelico was called away nothing was done for many years. Negotiations with Perugino fortunately led to no result. It was in 1499 that *Luca Signorelli* was employed to finish the vaults of the roof, and in 1500 he was commissioned to paint the walls. The work was still going on in the year 1504, and there was money due to him so late as 1509.

Luca Signorelli was a citizen of Cortona, born there about 1441. He took an active part in the government of the town, and Vasari says that he was "a man of upright life, and sincere in all things. He lived splendidly, and had pleasure in clothing himself handsomely." He survived both Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael, dying, as it is believed, in 1523. He was a pupil of Piero della Francesca, and it is supposed that he also came under the influence of Antonio Pollaiuolo, a Florentine, who was trained as a goldsmith. It is true of nearly all the great Italian masters that they excelled in fresco, but of none is it more true than of Signorelli. Many of his altar-pieces painted on panel are in existence, but none of them reveal to us the intellectual quality and the imaginative power which is found in the frescoes at Orvieto. Signorelli is not a great colourist; he has no suave Umbrian sentiment, nor does he see the spacious distances of Perugino. He realises himself fully only in terms of human life. He gains expression for the deepest and most far-reaching relations of existence in the human form. No monument of the time is so thoroughly characteristic of the finer developments of the Renaissance, and no other monument of the

period (with the exception of the Sistine Chapel) gives such a sense of power and strength.

The note of the scheme in this chapel is **Christ in Judgment.**

This central figure is preceded by a history of mankind arranged round the great poets of antiquity—Dante being included. These pictures are followed by the signs of the coming judgment, including the reign of Antichrist, and the resurrection from the dead. Then we have the judgment, and finally the everlasting life of beatitude or punishment.]

On entering the chapel, turn to the L.

The Signs of Judgment

(i., Plan XXV., p. 360.) The first sign of judgment is **the confusion on earth,** the signs and wonders in heaven, and the perplexity of the nations described in Luke xxi. 25 and in Rev. vi. 12. It is an account of what follows on the opening of the sixth seal, when the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood, and the stars fell upon the earth. This fresco is on the entrance wall.

(ii., Plan XXV.) The next sign is **the reign of Antichrist.** As we stand in the entrance, it is to our L., on the side wall. This is one of the finest frescoes in the series; it gives a remarkable picture of the trials and temptations of this life. It is a study of the evil and confusion in the world, the hopeless discord and futility of human life when there is no perception of its true significance nor of the end towards which men should strive. The coming of Antichrist was a constant preoccupation of the mediæval mind. Around this mysterious conception centred all the evil tendencies of the world. His coming was to cause the falling away of many from the true faith, his dominion was to be short-lived, only extending to three and a half years, as in the Apocalypse; but it was to be bloody and disastrous beyond measure, and it was to precede the day of judgment.

It is this concentration of all the powers of evil which Signorelli strives to paint. The drama begins with the fall of the evil spirit, driven out from heaven by the sword of the angel. Antichrist descends, as does the Dove of the Holy

Plan XXIV.—Cappella della Madonna di S. Brizio, Duomo, Orvieto

(*Looking towards the entrance*)

Spirit, in rays from above. The coming of Antichrist, like his kingdom on earth, like the deeds by which he beguiles men and the means by which he imposes his rule over their souls, are in form the duplicates in evil of all the good that goes to the establishment of the kingdom of heaven. The

descent of Antichrist brings evil and death, just as the descent of the Holy Spirit brings the gifts of healing. He falls amidst a crowd of men and women. Some look upwards as if for guidance, others realise the tragedy of their lives, ending in nothing but futile effort, evil passion, despair, and death.

The coming of Antichrist is followed by the preaching of his kingdom. He stands on a pedestal, and, according to the promptings of the devil, he speaks to the crowd. There is no weak attempt to make him odious or diabolic ; he is one of the most magnificent conceptions of Renaissance art. He is grave, reverend, and thoughtful, full of power and force ; and yet with subtle art Signorelli makes it clear that the kingdom of darkness is overshadowing its king. At the foot of the pedestal lie rich vases full of coin, and other symbols of the voluptuous life by which Antichrist tempts the souls of men to destruction.

The false prophet is making no merely rhetorical appeal to the feelings ; he knows the weaknesses of humanity, and he has a lure for all. He appeals to some by suasion and a false exposition of the Scriptures. We see the monks and learned men discuss his positions with the text before them ; they seem to be weighing the promises of the good things of this life against some faint recollection of a better and a higher ideal ; their doubts give them an evil conscience, a troubled expression, and an irresolute air. Where persuasion fails Antichrist tempts by the working of miracles. In the background a sick person rises up in bed. The incident represents a cure of some disease or perhaps a revival from death ; women render thanks, and a group of men in wonder and amazement look on.

Another group is tempted with gifts ; a servant of Antichrist passes from one to another with an alert and acute air. A woman in the foreground unwillingly receives money from him ; she turns away as she holds out her hand, and her face tells us that she knows it is the wages of death.

Where all these temptations fail Antichrist falls back on

violence and terror. When the appeal to the intellect, to the feelings, and to vicious longings has been resisted, he will break down resistance by persecution and bloodshed. In the foreground and to the L. of the picture one of the emissaries of evil strangles a man with a business-like precision characteristic of a Renaissance bravo ; near by lies a monk with his head split open, and others have fallen by knife or dagger.

In the background is a magnificent palace, a fit abode for those who live in the pride of the eyes and the pride of life. About its porticoes move armed servants ; some of them drag a prisoner to punishment, and in front of the entrance Antichrist stands watching over the martyrdom of Enoch and Elias, the two witnesses for God, in whose death the Kingdom of Evil was finally established.

The **third sign of judgment** is seen in the fresco on the entrance wall (iii., Plan XXV.). It describes the vehement fire that comes before the judgment ; it is sent so that the old world may be purified, and that from it may come a new heaven and a new earth, unpolluted by discord. It also cleanses the sin of those who are alive at the second coming, and have not therefore climbed through the circles of Purgatory. It is as a pillar of fire to give light to the saints, and to add to the torments of the damned.

3. The Resurrection

After the signs of judgment, there is the Resurrection (iv., Plan XXV.) on the side wall. Two angels sound the trumpets of the resurrection, each trumpet having the banner of the cross. On the plain below many souls have already risen. They stand in groups, most of them gazing upwards in search of the power by which they have been awakened ; others are still in the act of freeing themselves from the grave with much effort. Sometimes it is a skeleton that forces its way upwards, and to the R. they stand in a group. The skeletons are probably placed here in accordance with the legend that one of the tokens of the

Photograph : Anderson

DETAIL FROM MICHELANGELO'S PICTURE OF THE DELUGE

(Sistine Chapel, Rome)

Compare with the fresco of the Destruction of the World, in the Cappella della Madonna di S. Brizio, by Signorelli

coming judgment is that the bones of dead men shall issue out of their graves.

One group of souls stand in loving recollection of the tender affection they enjoyed on earth. They have a melancholy air, for they do not yet realise that now theirs is the life everlasting. There is not a single example of theatrical pose, of weak or exaggerated feeling, or of forced action. It is a remarkable realisation, that stamps itself indelibly on the mind.

4. The Judgment

Christ in judgment is depicted on the roof of the chapel (v., Plan XXIV., p. 354). He raises His right hand, and with His left He holds the globe of the universe. Outside the aureole of light which surrounds Him, are choirs of angels. This fresco is for the most part by *Fra Angelico*. In the other divisions of the vaulting of the roof are gathered the hierarchies of the old and new dispensations.

(vii., Plan XXIV.) **The Patriarchs** were watchers for the coming of Christ. In the innocency of Abel, in the hope of Noah, in the obedience of Abraham, in the meekness of Moses, they taught the mysteries of the spiritual life. They were each as stars giving light to their own time, until Christ, the true morning star, brought the fulness of light to all men. The group of Patriarchs is the work of *Signorelli*.

(viii., Plan XXIV.) **The Prophets,** who foresaw and foretold the coming of Christ. S. John the Baptist sits nearest to the Saviour, and behind him is King David. This group is by *Fra Angelico*; the remaining divisions of the vault were painted by *Signorelli*.

(ix., Plan XXIV.) In the first harvest the Prophets had laboured, and in the second their place was taken by **the Apostles.** Madonna kneels nearest to Christ.

(x., Plan XXIV.) After the Apostles there came **Martyrs,** and when the Martyrs were taken, there followed the **Doctors of the Church**; it was through their preaching

and teaching that the brightness of the light of the Gospel dispelled the dark shadows of ignorance. The Choir of **Virgins** has for its central figure S. Mary Magdalene. Many of them bear palms of martyrdom. They move the spirits of men so that they may fight the good fight and win the Crown of Life.

Thus we are taught how the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, the glorious company of the Apostles, the noble army of Martyrs, and Holy Church throughout the entire world acknowledge the infinite majesty of the glory of Christ.

5. The Fate of the Wicked

On the side wall to the R. (xiii., Plan XXIV.) there is the scene in which the devils seize the damned and hurry them off to their allotted place. This is the least convincing of the four large frescoes, and yet no artist has ever more nearly conveyed in its terrible simplicity the vision which Dante calls up in *Inferno* iii. 16-18: "We are come to the place where I told thee thou shouldst see the wretched people who have lost the good of the intellect."

Signorelli has chosen the scene which occurs so often over the great doorways in thirteenth-century Gothic cathedrals. At Nôtre Dame, in Paris, the wicked are gathered in a chain and drawn hellwards in a mass. Here, at Orvieto, it is an individual struggle. Each devil seizes his victim, binds him, or clutches him in his arms and carries him off. Some fly away with their prey, and three armour-clad angels stand on guard, lest any of the lost souls should escape toward the way of the blessed. The devils do their work too well for that, and the three are impassive onlookers, watching the struggle.

The devils gain in horror from their humanity. Some have wings, reminding us that they are fallen angels, others have horns, but there is no intention to dwell on such things, and there is no desire to gain effect by grotesque incident. It is essentially an intellectual hell, in

Photograph: Anderson

DETAIL FROM MICHELANGELO'S FRESCO OF THE DELUGE

(Sistine Chapel, Rome)

Compare with the "Fate of the Sinners" in the Cappella della Madonna di S. Brizio. By Signorelli

which the terror is greater, inasmuch as man suffers in his highest faculties and by means of devils who are mainly differentiated from himself by calculated hate.

The fate of the wicked is continued on the right-hand side of the window (xiv., Plan XXIV.). The design follows generally the vision which Dante describes in the third canto of *Inferno*.

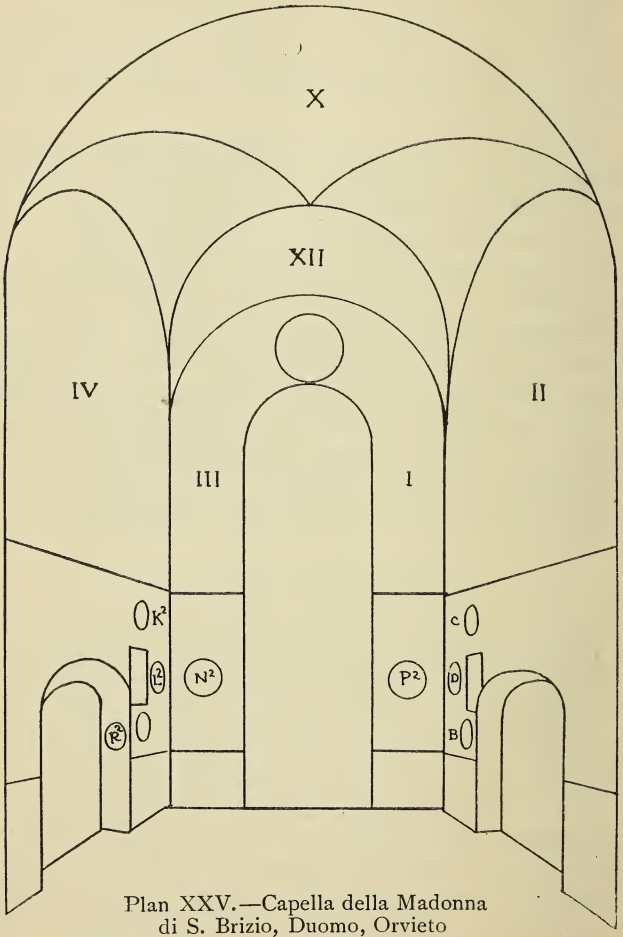
The group to the R. of the picture await the coming of **Charon's boat.** His eyes are like glowing coal; he collects the sinners and smites with his oar whoever lingers. "As the leaves of autumn fall off one after the other . . . so one by one the evil seed of Adam cast themselves from that shore . . . and ere they have landed on the other shore again a fresh crowd collects on this." In the background of the picture there is the "crew of caitiffs," dreary souls who lived without blame and without praise. "Their blind life is so mean that they are envious of every other lot." Their aimless existence on earth finds its counterpart on the confines of hell. They follow an ensign that ever moves quickly and yet leads nowhere.

6. The Lot of the Blessed

On the left hand (xv., Plan XXIV.) is the fresco describing the Communion of Saints in Paradise. The blessed are looking upwards, they have seen the wicked carried off to everlasting torment, and their faces still bear the signs of the stress of this world. The terror from which they have escaped weighs on their souls, they do not realise the bliss they are about to enjoy. And yet in the heaven above them all is peace. The nine choirs of angels join in unending harmonies. Two angels in the centre shed flowers upon the blessed, while others place crowns of victory upon their heads. In spite of all this joy there is not a smile on a single face, human or angelic.

It is a paradise of men and women who have passed through lives full of such experiences as make them grave even in the divine presence-chamber. Here there are no

child-like monks embraced by child-like angels as in the Paradise of Fra Angelico. These are beings of a sterner



Plan XXV.—Capella della Madonna di S. Brizio, Duomo, Orvieto
(*Looking towards the altar*)

mould, and they are still in the heaven from which the shadow of earth has not wholly passed. The waters of

Lethe have not completely washed away the memory and the bitterness of worldly discords.

It is as though these artists of the Renaissance had cast away mediævalism without having found a new anchorage. The mournful gaze of Botticelli, the sceptical smile of Leonardo, the passionate unrest of Michel Angelo, and the shadow over Signorelli's Paradise show that none of these men had found a resolution of the problems they had to face. At first sight the crowd of naked forms and the intimate realisation of their anatomy seems to clash with a conception of the ideal; indeed, this picture has been regarded by some mainly as a study of the nude, and interesting as an example that may have inspired Michel Angelo.

It will fall more truly into its proper place, if we regard these grandly muscular forms, standing so firmly on their feet and facing us with such stern and grave purpose, as symbols of that fortitude, of that strength and fixity of will, and of that reverend regard for the relationships of life upon which character is based.

This company of the blessed assert the dignity of human nature alike in its physical and intellectual development. It is a protest against the mediæval conception which regarded the body as the prison-house of the soul, and this world merely as a place of preparation for the next.

If we compare a mediæval rendering of Paradise, such as that of Orcagna, with this Renaissance conception, we find in the former that each saint has his or her worldly rank in the spiritual hierarchy carefully recorded; here the individual does not stand on the quality of distinctions made in this world. In the Paradise of Signorelli men and women appear as such, and not as Bishops or Abbesses or Martyrs or Virgins. We do not know who has borne the burden and heat of the day, or who has worked but one hour. Here they are all equal, the quality of humanity is enough.

The glory of Paradise is consummated on the wall to the L. of the window (xvi., Plan XXIV.). Angels are making

music, while others fly downwards to help and encourage the blessed souls on their way to the presence of God.

Below the large scenes are a series of medallions with the **ancient poets.** No names are given to the poets, but the nature of the paintings, and the scene in *Inferno* iv. 89-90, where Dante describes his meetings with the sages, make it probable that they are Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Lucan, and Dante.

Round each of these, as central figures, there are small panels, generally dealing with some scene in their writings more or less illustrative of the large frescoes above. In the case of Virgil there is an exception, the small illustrations are not taken from his own poems, but from scenes in *Purgatory* where Virgil was acting as Dante's guide or companion.

To the L., on the entrance wall, there is a painting which has been supposed to represent Empedocles. He looks up at the scene of destruction and dissolution above him. Some have thought that the Philosopher sees in this a realisation of his theory of the moving forces of Love and Hate. When Hate becomes active, the ordinary bond uniting nature is dissolved. In *Inferno* xii. 44, Dante attributes to Empedocles the idea that the alternating forces of Love and Hate cause the world " oftentimes to be converted into chaos."

(**Plan XXIV.,** p. 354)

The first poet on the side wall to the L. is **Homer.** Round him are three small pictures (B, C, and D). They have been supposed to represent scenes from *Iliad,* xviii. The shield of Achilles is made by Hephaistos, and on it there is figured a judgment scene supposed to be that painted at (D). It may be a pendant to the tragedy enacted in the picture (C). The figure at (B) has been identified as that of Achilles arousing himself to prepare for the rescue of the body of Patroklos. These attributions are not convincing.

Round the figure of **Dante** there are four scenes from *Purgatory*.

(F.) Cato meets Virgil and Dante on the shore of the island of Purgatory. Virgil, when challenged by Cato, says they are there, in virtue of the prayers of a lady, who descended from heaven. He declares that he was sent as guide, so that Dante might reach salvation by experience of guilt in hell, and now they go to see the souls who are being purified (*Purg.* i. 43-84).

(G.) In the foreground Virgil points out to Dante the boat bringing souls to the island of Purgatory. It is impelled by an Angel of God, whose light is so brilliant that Dante shades his eyes (*Purg.* ii. 39). In the centre of the picture Dante obeys the command of Virgil (*Purg.* ii. 28) to bend his knees in the presence of the Angel, who has just guided the boat-load of souls to the shore. In the background is the meeting between Casella and Dante (*Purg.* ii. 76-111), ending in the indignant protest of Cato against the halt which the souls make on their way to the mount of cleansing.

(H.) Virgil asks the way upwards from the souls they meet. Dante meets King Manfred (*Purg.* iii. 113), who was killed at the battle of Beneventum (1266). The king sends a message to his daughter Constance to comfort her. He confesses that his sins were horrible, but Infinite Goodness has arms spread so wide, that all who return may be gathered within them.

(I.) Virgil and Dante begin to climb. They mount on broken rock, and need both hands and feet (*Purg.* iv. 33). At the top of the narrow way they sit down to rest. Dante wonders why the sun strikes them on the L. (they are in the southern hemisphere) (*Purg.* iv. 57). In the background they find Belacqua sitting in the shadow of the rock (*Purg.* vi. 104), more negligent than even if idleness were his sister (*Purg.* iv. 110-112).

The next of the great men is **Virgil**; he is surrounded by scenes from the *Purgatory* of Dante.

(K.) Virgil reproves Dante for halting to listen to the

souls, who are curious and wonder to see a form that casts a shadow (*Purg.* v. 1-18). A number of souls sing the "Miserere" (*Purg.* v. 24). Again the souls marvel at the shadow which is cast by Dante. They send two messengers to inquire of the condition of the visitors (*Purg.* vi. 29-30).

(L.) The souls gather round Dante. Among the crowd are Benincasa of Arezzo, slain by the brother of one who had suffered while Benincasa was Podestà of Siena; Cione, of the family of the Tarlati, drowned at the battle of Campaldino; Federigo Novello, a Pisan; and Pier dalla Broccia, chamberlain of Philip III. of France. These all desire that prayer may be made, so that their time of purification on the mount shall come quickly (*Purg.* vi. 1-28). In the background Sordello embraces the knees of Virgil when the latter declares himself to be a Mantuan. Virgil bends over him and returns the salutation.

(M.) Sordello again embraces Virgil's knees (*Purg.* vii. 15), and the poet says that he has lost the light of the Sun, not for doing, but for not doing. In the centre of the picture Sordello explains that the darkness of night prevents any one from climbing the mountain. He leads them to a point where they can see the souls of Rodolph the Emperor and other rulers, who had allowed too great a weight to the things of this world. The king sings the "Salve Regina" (*Purg.* vii. 67-136).

(N.) Virgil, Dante, and Sordello hear the souls of the rulers sing "Te lucis ante" (*Purg.* viii. 13). Two angels with flaming swords guard the valley against the serpent (*Purg.* viii. 39 and viii. 98). In the background Dante talks with Nino Visconti of Pisa (*Purg.* viii. 53) and Conrad Malaspina (*Purg.* viii. 118).

The series of small panels dealing with the purification of souls is continued on part of the end wall of the chapel.

(O.) Dante, having fallen asleep (*Purg.* ix. 10), awakens to find himself at the gate of Purgatory (*Purg.* ix. 39). While asleep, Dante has seen a vision of an eagle, who bears him aloft (*Purg.* ix. 29-30), and Virgil explains that Lucia

has appeared to him and borne Dante upwards to where he now is (*Purg.* ix. 61). To the L. of the picture Dante kneels before the angel, who sits at the gate (*Purg.* ix. 82).

(P.) Virgil and Dante enter the first circle on the mountain of Purgatory through a cleft in the rock (*Purg.* x. 7). On the sides of the path they see sculptured three examples of humility, viz., the Annunciation (*Purg.* x. 40), David dancing before the Ark (*Purg.* x. 65), and Trajan, who did justice to the poor widow (*Purg.* x. 74). At the lower right-hand corner they see the souls of the Proud being purged, who bear heavy weights, which bow them toward the earth.

(Q.) Virgil and Dante meet three souls who are being purged from Pride: Guglielmo Aldobrandeschi (*Purg.* xi. 59), Oderigi of Gubbio (*Purg.* xi. 79), and Provenzano Salviani (*Purg.* xi. 121). These three souls are supposed to represent the arrogance of the patrician (Aldobrandeschi), the vainglory of the artist (Oderigi), and the ambition of the politician (Salviani).

This ends the series of small panels dealing with the purification of the human soul. We need not be surprised that the only specific sin dealt with is that of Pride, as it was held to be the root of all evil. The pictures dealing with these scenes of preparation for the enjoyment of heaven are under the large frescoes, in which are gathered the saints who receive their crowns and are helped on their way heavenwards by the angels.

(R.) A subject of uncertain significance.

(S.) With the help of Cupid, Venus causes Dido to become enamoured of Æneas.

(T.) Herakles is forced to cross a stream with his wife Deianeira. Nessus offers to bear her across. The Centaur tries to carry her off instead, and is shot by Herakles. Nessus gives her a garment soaked in his blood as a charm against the infidelity of her husband. Deianeira becoming jealous sends Herakles a robe on which there is some of the blood. It poisons the hero, who dies on a funeral pyre. He is carried to Olympos and made immortal.

(U.) This may represent the war between Herakles and Hippokoön.

(V.) Devils torment the damned.

(W.) Andromeda is exposed on a rock. Kepheus, her father, prays that Perseus will rescue her from the monster. Perseus slays the dragon, and claims Andromeda as his bride (see *Metamorphoses* iv.).

(X.) Phineus, to whom Andromeda has been promised in marriage, breaks in upon the bridal banquet. Perseus when nearly overwhelmed by numbers shows the Gorgon's Head, and turns his enemies to stone (*Metamorphoses* v.).

The small panels from T to X are upon the end wall of the chapel, and under the large fresco where the souls of the damned suffer. Passing to the side wall the two poets Ovid and Horace are under the fresco where the devils seize and carry off the souls of the damned.

The following panels surround the picture of **Ovid** :—

(Z.) Typhœus having dared to hope for an abode with the gods, is buried under the island of Sicily. The struggles of Typhæus cause earthquakes, and Pluto goes forth in his chariot to see if his kingdom of the underworld is in danger (*Metamorphoses* v.).

(A 2.) Diana and Pallas counsel Proserpina against Love. Venus moves Cupid to shoot his dart at Pluto so that he may be touched by love of Proserpina, lest she, like Diana and Pallas, should renounce the empire of Venus (*Metamorphoses*. v.).

(B 2.) Proserpina is beloved by Pluto, and while she is gathering flowers he carries her off in his chariot (*Metamorphoses* v.).

(C 2.) Keres goes in search of her daughter. Cupid points the way (*Metamorphoses* v.).

The following panels are painted round the picture of **Horace** :—

(E 2.) Eurydike having died of a snake bite, her husband, Orpheus, goes down into the underworld to recover her. He plays so sweetly on his lyre, that they who dwell there are charmed from their usual tasks. Pluto grants

Eurydike to him on condition that he does not turn back to look at her.

(F 2.) Orpheus breaks through the condition laid on him, he looks back. Three devils seize Eurydike and drag her down into the underworld.

(G 2.) Æneas desires to visit the underworld to see his father. Charon objects to carry a living body across the river. The Sibyl shows the talisman of the Golden Bough, and they are ferried across the Stygian water (*Æneid* vi. 383-416).

(H 2.) Herakles having chained up Kerberos, descends into the underworld and liberates Theseus, who is seen armed with sword and shield.

This finishes the series under the fresco of the devils seizing the damned. The last of the poets is **Lucan**; around his picture there are only two scenes.

(K 2.) Probably a scene in the wars between Cæsar and Pompey, described in Lucan's *Pharsalia* iv. 235. The two armies have fraternised, and Petreius raises the passions of the soldiers of Pompey so that strife may be renewed.

(L 2.) After the battle of Pharsalia Pompey sails to Egypt, where he is slain by Achilles (*Pharsalia* viii. 718).

In the recess in the wall there are two small panels.

(M 2.) Probably represents the martyrdom of Faustinus —perhaps the saint of this name who suffered in the time of Diocletian.

(R 2.) Probably represents the death of Pietro Parenzo, said to have been the first Podestà of Orvieto. He was sent to make peace in the city in 1199. He caused the towers of the nobles to be destroyed, and was treacherously murdered. His death was avenged by the Guelph party.

Opposite in the L. transept is

The Cappella del Corporale

The Cappella del Corporale contains **the reliquary,** in which is preserved the visible signs of the Miracle of Bol-

sena. The Miracle was worked in the Church of Sta. Cristina at Bolsena. In 1263, a German priest, who was troubled with doubt about the Real Presence, made a pilgrimage to Rome, hoping to find peace of mind. He visited various sanctuaries by the way, and it thus happened that he came to celebrate Mass at this place. As he broke the bread the wafer was turned into flesh, and blood dropped upon the cloth used in the office. Upon it there also appeared the image of the Saviour. At that time Pope Urban IV. was at Orvieto, and thither the priest went to tell what had befallen. The Bishop of Orvieto was sent to verify the facts, and afterwards was ordered by the Pope to return to Bolsena and bring the relics to Orvieto. The Pope went out in procession to the bridge of Rio Chiaro to meet the returning bishop; children spread olive branches and flowers by the way, and all returned to the city with joy and gladness.

The Miracle happened at an opportune time. In the year 1208 the blessed Giuliana, a nun at Liege, had a vision of an incomplete circle of light; it was revealed to her that the bright part represented the festivals held in honour of other mysteries, while the dark part signified that there was lacking a festival in honour of the Holy Sacrament. The institution of such a festival was attempted for a time at Liege, but the Pope hesitated to make it general throughout the Church, for he feared to make a liturgical innovation without some proof from heaven. The Divine sanction was found in the Miracle of Bolsena, and by a Bull of the 11th August 1264, the Pope ordered the celebration of a festival throughout the Catholic world. Thomas Aquinas was ordered to compose an office and a Mass for the celebration which was ordained for the glory of the Holy Sacrament, and the confounding of heretics.

In the middle of the thirteenth century the Manichean heresy was rife, and besides maintaining the principle of dualism, many of the heretical sects were inclined to deny the Real Presence. The Miracle of Bolsena came, there-

fore, as a most welcome means of strengthening the position of the Church against her enemies.

We now turn to **the frescoes** of the Chapel of the Corporale. They were painted originally between the years 1357 and 1364 by *Ugolino di Prete Ilario* and his assistants. The name of *Domenico Leonardelli* (1557-1563) has also been connected with these paintings.

The frescoes on the side walls nearest to the reliquary have been repainted, while those on the walls nearest to the nave are almost destroyed. The entire series in the chapel, both on the walls and the roof, have a Eucharistic significance.

(**Plan XXVI.**, p. 372)

We begin with the paintings on the roof over the reliquary. (a.) Melchisedek offers bread and wine to Abraham. The legend runs, " Melchisedek, King of Salem, offered to Abraham bread and wine, for he was a priest of the Most High God." In the lunette beneath, S. Jerome explains that Melchisedek is to be interpreted as King of Justice and King of Peace ; he signifies Christ, King of all priests.

(b.) Abraham welcomes the three angels. He sees three but adores only one. He brings water and washes their feet, and sets food before them. S. Basil, in the lunette below, says : " He adored the Saviour, showing His coming, and he foresaw the future mystery of the Sacrament."

(c.) Moses and the Israelites gather Manna. The legend is, " He gave them bread from heaven having all virtue in it."

(d.) Elijah is aroused by the angel, he kneels and adores, and then eats. He climbs Mount Horeb. In the strength of this food he went forty days and forty nights up to the Mount of God. *In the lunette*, S. Gregory says, " The Angel which fed Elijah, that is, the Angel of ' Great Council,' is Christ, by whose help we exist both in our bodily and spiritual nature."

The four divisions of the roof nearest to the nave of the church have the following representations :—

(e.) In the upper part Christ stands with the seven candlesticks about Him ; over them is the Host. Below, Christ appears as the rider on the white horse, crowned and armed. He shoots an arrow at the devil. The legend says, " A crown is given to Thee, and as a conqueror, Thou shalt go forth to conquer."

In the lunette below, Christ stands among His disciples holding the Host, and declares that he who eats shall have life eternal.

(f.) A figure kneels in confession, and S. Paul, pointing to the chalice and the wafer on the altar, warns mankind that whosoever eats and drinks unworthily eats and drinks to his own damnation.

(g.) Christ in a glory of angels and holding the chalice and wafer appears to S. Augustine, who hears a voice from heaven. It is shown to him that as the bodily man grows by eating food, so the spiritual man must feed on Christ. In the lunette below, there is a representation of the Last Supper. Christ gives the wafer to Peter and says, " Take, eat, this is my body."

(h.) S. Thomas Aquinas kneels at an altar, to prepare himself for writing the new office for the festival of the " Corpus Domini." On the altar there is a book, on the pages of which is written, " I am the true food." *Above the altar* is a crucifix, and from it Christ speaks to S. Thomas : " Thou hast well written of Me, Thomas, therefore thou shalt receive the reward of thy labours."

The picture in the lunette below is defaced. The scheme of this roof seems to be summed up in the saying, " By partaking of the body and blood of Christ we pass into that which we then take, and both in spirit and in body we carry everywhere Him, in whom and with whom we were dead and buried."

We now turn to the narrative frescoes *on the wall*, beginning with those which give **an account of the Miracle,** on the right-hand side of the chapel.

No. 1. The Miracle of the blood falling from the Host, in the Church of Sta. Cristina, at Bolsena.

No. 2. The Priest comes to tell the Pope of the Miracle.

No. 3. The Pope sends the Bishop of Orvieto to verify the Miracle.

No. 4. The Bishop of Orvieto finds the Corporale spotted with blood.

No. 5. The Pope at the head of the people and clergy meet the Bishop on his return. The Pope kneels as the Corporale is exposed.

No. 6. The Corporale is shown to the people.

No. 7. S. Thomas Aquinas presents the office for the celebration of Corpus Domini, which the Pope has ordered him to write.

Passing to the frescoes on the L. wall—

Nos. 8, 9, and 10 represent how a fisherman put the Host into the mouth of a fish. Three years later he confesses what he has done. The priest and the fisherman recover the Host.

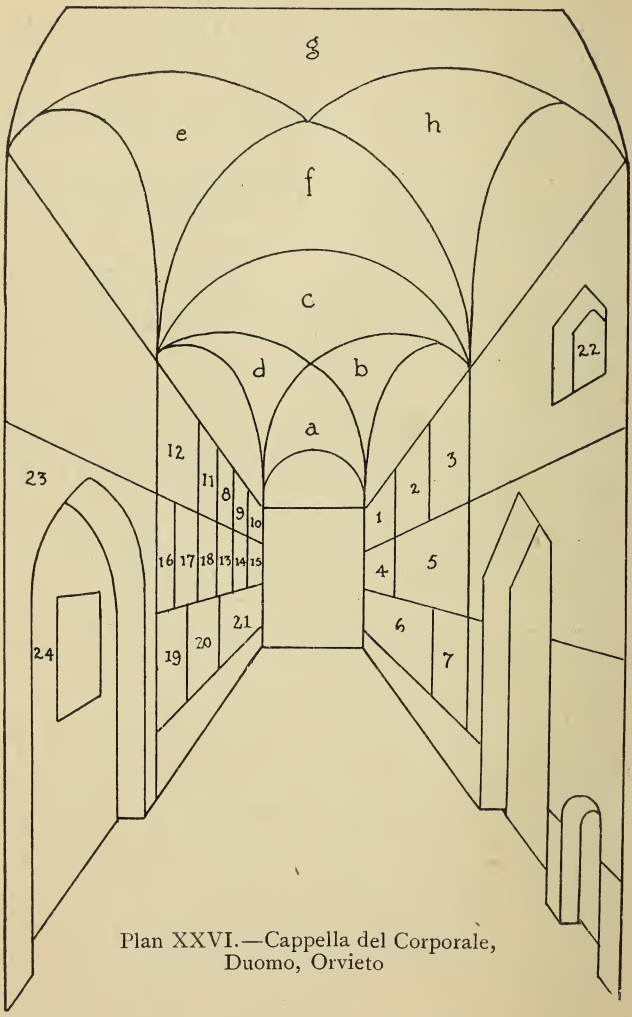
No. 11. A hermit who disbelieves in the Real Presence is brought to the altar. As the priest raises the Host, it is changed into the likeness of a child.

No. 12. S. Gregory, having consecrated the Host, presents it to an unbelieving woman, who by it receives faith in the Sacrament.

Nos. 13, 14, 15. A Jewish child has received the communion along with a number of Christian children. The indignant father thrusts the child into a glass-blower's furnace. The mother calls her neighbours. They rescue the child, and put the father into the furnace in his place.

Nos. 16, 17, 18. Hugh of S. Victor, when sick, is presented with the unconsecrated Host. He detects and refuses it. The consecrated Host is brought, and he sits up in bed and worships. In the next painting Hugh says, "Let the Son return to the Father, and my soul to its Saviour." In the fresco we see the wafer passing upwards, and the soul of the dead man, shining with a brilliant radiance, carried to heaven by angels.

No. 19. A number of Christian prisoners have been



Plan XXVI.—Cappella del Corporale, Duomo, Orvieto

taken by Mussulmans in battle. Among them is a chaplain. The Saracen king demands to see what the chaplain

can make out of bread, otherwise the prisoners will be slain.

No. 20. The chaplain celebrates Mass, and the Host is changed into a child.

The Christians kneel on one side of the altar, and the Saracens on the other.

No. 21. The child stands on the altar bearing the cross, The king is seated on his throne. Some of the soldiers kneel, and many conversions take place.

No. 22. *In a window* opening to the R. of the entrance, it is possible to see traces of the offerings made by Cain and Abel, and the sacrifice of Gideon.

No. 23. To the L. of the entrance, *below the first lunette*, there is a representation of the meal of the Passover.

No. 24. On the *underside of the arch*, to the L. of the entrance, three frescoes show how a heretic attempted to deceive a believer with a representation of a false Madonna and Child. The believer takes advice of S. Peter Martyr. The saint elevates the Host, and the Child falls from the knee of the false representation.

The reliquary, in which is preserved the Corporale, was made by *Ugolino di Maestro Vieri* in 1337. It is adorned with eight representations of the story of the Miracle and seven scenes from the life of Christ.

1. The Priest says Mass. 2. The Priest tells the Pope of the Miracle. 3. The Pope sends the Bishop to inquire. 4. The Bishop verifies the Priest's account. 5. The Bishop returns with the Corporale. 6. The Pope comes out of Orvieto to meet him. 7. The Pope shows the Corporale to the people. 8. S. Thomas Aquinas presents a copy of the Office he has written for the festival. 9. The Entry into Jerusalem. 10. The Last Supper. 11. The Washing of the feet. 12. The Sermon to the Apostles after the Supper.

Below these are representations of the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi. At the four corners are figures of the four Evangelists.

The Font

Near the western door, which is most commonly used, there is **a font of Renaissance workmanship.** It is supported on a base carried by eight lions. The work was begun in 1390 by *Luca di Giovanni* of Siena and it was finished in 1407, while *Sano di Matteo* of Siena was Capo Maestro. The font is of the traditional octagonal form. The most noteworthy thing is the sculpture on a small fillet which surrounds the basin. In addition to some ornamental work there are allegorical subjects not easy to explain. One subject shows a wolf suckling children, while another wolf carries off a lamb. It has been suggested that the one wolf is the true Pope who nourishes the Church, while the other is the Antipope who ravages the fold. There are besides symbols of the seven virtues. Faith is indicated by the Host and Chalice, next is Hope, and beyond there is a figure with a flaming censer expressive of Charity. Prudence, Justice, Temperance, and Fortitude are also personified. They appear here as the result of the purification and illumination wrought by the waters of baptism.

Near the font on the wall of the aisle is a **fresco** by *Gentile da Fabriano* (1360, 1370-1427, 1428?). The picture has been much damaged; it is still, however, a charming example of Umbrian sentiment.

OTHER CHURCHES

S. Domenico

This building was begun on a small scale in 1233, but in 1245 the plan was changed by the Cardinal Anibaldo Anibaldeschi in favour of a more magnificent church with a large convent attached. The designs of the Cardinal were too ambitious. The vast structure remained in an

incomplete state until the seventeenth century, when it was finished off on a smaller scale.

S. Thomas Aquinas, who lived in Orvieto for a year, from 1263 to 1264, persuaded Urban IV. to consecrate this church. It is said that the learned doctor not only taught theology in the town, but wrote, during the time of his visit, the Office of the Corpus Domini, the first book of the *Catena Aurea*, and his commentary upon the *De Anima* of Aristotle. An ancient wooden crucifix, and a chair in this church, are shown as having been used by S. Thomas. The chief object of interest is the **monument** erected by *Arnolfo del Cambio* (1232-1310) to Cardinal Guglielmo di Bray, who died in Orvieto in 1280. The tomb may be compared with the similar design for the monument to Benedict XI. in the Church of S. Domenico in Perugia.

The design of the Cardinal's tomb is architecturally superior to the monument at Perugia. The lower part, ornamented with mosaic, is particularly successful. The recumbent figure, with severely simple drapery, is very fine in general outline. But the face of the Cardinal cannot compare with the magnificently dignified features of the dead Pope.

The theme of the curtain-drawing angels was probably invented by Arnolfo, and used by him on this monument for the first time. These angels have no wings, and are clothed in dalmatics. They seem busily concerned with their duties, and are altogether less restrained and less beautiful than the angels at Perugia. Above the lying statue is a seated Madonna and Child on a throne richly ornamented with mosaics and twisted columns. On either side, under niches, are the figures of S. Dominic, and the kneeling Cardinal, presented to the Virgin by a Dominican monk. The majestic figure of the Madonna recalls something of the imperial air of the Virgin by Niccolo Pisano on the pulpit at Pisa.

A sepulchral chapel in the church was built by *Michele Sammicheli* for one of the Petrucci family of Siena, who died in Orvieto in 1517.

Another centre of the ancient municipal life is to be found in the now desolate **Piazza del Popolo, or Mercato,** which lies on the other side of the Corso.

The massive and imposing **Palazzo del Capitano, or del Popolo,** one of the oldest municipal buildings of the Middle Ages, is said to have been erected by Adrian IV. in 1156 and restored in 1255. The upper storey has six beautiful windows, and the entrance is reached by a fine flight of stairs leading from the piazza.

Another large but unfinished municipal building is the **Palazzo Comunale,** in the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele, erected in the beginning of the thirteenth century, now used as the Municipio. The Renaissance façade was added in 1524. Such are some of the evidences that still remain of the prosperity and vigorous life to be found in Orvieto in the thirteenth century.

S. Andrea, in the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele, is an ancient church built before the middle of the twelfth century, upon the site of a Roman temple dedicated to Juno. The church has no architectural features of interest, and is noteworthy chiefly from its associations with some of the most solemn events and deeds of the mediæval Republic. On the Feast of the Assumption it was the custom for the conquered towns and castles annually to offer their tribute as a sign of submission to the Orvietans at the doorway of S. Andrea. Pietro Parenzo, the first Podestà, who was murdered in Orvieto, was canonised here.

In 1281 Martin IV. received the papal tiara in this church, in the presence of Charles of Anjou. On a pier of the crossing, to the R., is a small pulpit richly inlaid with cosmati work.

S. Lorenzo. The nave of this small church is supported by five round pillars with simple block capitals. There is a wooden roof, and small clerestory windows. In the semi-dome are the figures of Christ and Mary, with SS. John, Lawrence, and Francis. Over the altar, which is formed of Etruscan carved panels, is an ancient baldacchino,

perhaps of the tenth or eleventh century. There are remains of frescoes on the walls. On the L. wall of the nave, scenes from the life of S. Lawrence.

S. Francesco. This church, built upon the highest part of the city, dates from 1229. It was in this building that Boniface VIII. canonised S. Louis, King of France, in 1297. The church was also the scene of the magnificent funeral of Prince Henry of England, murdered by Guy de Montfort in Viterbo in 1273. There were present on the occasion the English king, Edward I., and his queen, as well as Charles of Anjou and Pope Gregory X.

Several members of the famous Monaldeschi family are buried in this church.

S. Giovenale, in the Via Malabranca, is probably the oldest Orvietan church, having been constructed in 1004 at the expense of the families of the Monaldeschi, Rinaldini, and the Counts of Marsciano.

The building underwent radical modifications in the thirteenth century, and again in 1640, but some traces still remain of the Romanesque period. **The high altar,** for example, is formed of a marble slab covered with interlacing patterns of crosses and circles. On the pilasters at the corners are the figures of a dove, a griffin, a bishop, and the Archangel Michael. The date 1170 may be seen on the side. The church also possesses an interesting **ivory casket** of Romanesque workmanship, with the symbolical figures of a Lamb between a Peacock and a Pelican, signifying the Redeemer, who, by His sacrifice, bestowed the gift of everlasting beatitude upon man. Christ is symbolised by the Lamb, His sacrifice by the Pelican, and Immortality by the Peacock.

On the road which leads from the Duomo down to the Funicolare station, is the office of the Finanziari, originally the **Palazzo Marsciano**, designed by *Antonio San Gallo.*

Continue on the way to the Funicolare and close to the station are the remains of the **Fortress** built by Cardinal Albornoz in 1364. The grounds are now converted into a

public garden commanding extensive views of the Paglia Valley.

The Well of S. Patrick (Pozzo di S. Patrizio), near to the fortress, is an ingenious and unusual construction built by the architect, *San Gallo,* in 1527. Clement VII. had fled to Orvieto for refuge after the sack of Rome by the Constable Bourbon ; and fearing that the water supply of the town would prove deficient in the case of a siege, he ordered the construction of the magnificent well. The shaft is about one hundred and eighty feet deep, and forty-six feet in diameter. There are two staircases, one for the ascent, and the other for the descent, wide enough for the passage of mules. The walls are pierced by seventy-two windows, and through these openings, one can see far down at the bottom a speck of water circled round by a green wall of delicate ferns. It is said that San Gallo took the idea of this stairway from Niccolo Pisano's designs for the Campanile at Pisa. Clement VII. died before the completion of the structure, and his successor Paul III. gave the work to Simon Mosca, who transformed the balls of the Medici arms, which Clement had placed above the door, into the lilies of the Farnese house.

The inscription on the upper building runs, *QUOD NATURA MUNIMENTO INVIDERAT INDUSTRIA ADJECIT.* " Industry supplies what nature is unwilling to bestow."

A pleasant walk may be made to the Capuchin Convent. Leave the town by the Porta Romana, or by the Porta Maggiore, and descend the hill by one of the many paths until the walls of an old viaduct are reached. Climb the rough path to the convent, from whence there is a fine view of the city.

The Monastery of SS. Severo and Martirio, known as **La Badia,** is about one and a half miles beyond the Porta Romana. It can be reached by carriage from the road, or on foot by pleasant paths through vine and olive gardens.

Leave the town by the Porta Romana. Turn down a

steep road to the L. into the valley. Continue the same country track which climbs the hill on the opposite side, the Abbadia being well in view during the greater part of the walk. The building was begun in the eighth century, and was enlarged and enriched at different times up to the fourteenth century. The ten-sided Campanile in the Romanesque style was added by the Countess Matilda, who died in 1115. Some marble fragments, remains of the older construction, may be seen built into the walls of the Tower. The windows are round-arched and divided by a single column.

The cloister has round-headed windows with Romanesque ornament, but the capitals of the columns are Gothic in character. The monastery was inhabited by Benedictine monks until 1221. It was then given by Honorius III. to the regular canons of the Premonstratensians. In 1423 Martin V. bestowed it upon the Olivetans, who in turn were dispossessed by Eugenius IV. in 1442, and the rich monastery passed into the hands of Cardinal Barbo, the nephew of the Pope.

In the basement of the **National Gallery** there are a number of copies of frescoes which were made for the **Arundel Society,** with some of the reproductions from them. Representations of the following pictures may be seen :—

From Perugia—The Transfiguration from the Sala del Cambio.

From Assisi—Many of the Old Testament scenes and New Testament scenes from the nave of the Upper Church of S. Francesco. Many of the scenes from the life of S. Francis in the nave of the upper church.

From the Lower Church of S. Francesco—Frescoes from the L. and R. transepts ; from the Chapel of the Magdalene, and from the Chapel of S. Martin.

From the Capella della Madonna di S. Brizio, in the Duomo of Orvieto—The large fresco showing the Saints crowned in Paradise.

From Panicale—The fresco of S. Sebastian.

From Montefalco—Several scenes from the life of S. Francis, and a large altar-piece by Benozzo Gozzoli.

From Spello—The Sposalizio in S. Girolamo.

In the **South Kensington Museum** there is a model of the Sala del Cambio at Perugia.

The following **list of books** may be useful to travellers in Central Italy :—

" Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects," by Giorgio Vasari. The best edition is that of Sansoni, with notes by Milanesi, in 9 vols. A selection of seventy of the most important lives has been translated, with notes by G. H. and G. W. Blashfield and A. A. Hopkins, 4 vols.

" Sketches of the History of Christian Art," by Lord Lindsay, 2 vols.

" A New History of Painting in Italy," by J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, 3 vols. New editions have been and are in course of publication by Murray and by Dent.

" Tuscan Sculptors," by Charles C. Perkins, 2 vols.

" Italian Sculptors," by Charles C. Perkins, 1 vol.

" Renaissance in Italy," by J. A. Symonds, 7 vols.

(" The Fine Arts," in vol. iii. of the series.)

" Florentine Painters of the Renaissance," by Bernhard Berenson, 1 vol.

" The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance," by Bernhard Berenson, 1 vol.

" Perugino," by G. C. Williamson, Litt.D.

" Signorelli," by Maud Crutwell.

" The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria," by George Dennis, 2 vols.

L'Art Etrusque, Jules Martha.

Vita di S. Francesco d'Assisi, scritta da S. Bonaventura ; edited by Mons. Amoni.

" The Mirror of Perfection," edited by Paul Sabatier, translated by Sebastian Evans.

" The Little Flowers of S. Francis," translated by T. W. Arnold.

Vie de S. François d'Assisi, by Paul Sabatier.

Franz von Assisi, by Henry Thode.

"The Inferno" of Dante, translated by Dr Carlisle; edited by H. Oelsner, M.A., Ph.D. "The Purgatory" of Dante, ed ted, with translation and notes, by A. J. Butler. "The Paradise" of Dante, translated by the Rev. P. H. Wicksteed, M.A.

De Monarchia of Dante, translated by the Rev. P. H. Wicksteed, M.A.

"The Banquet" (*Il Convito*) of Dante, translated by Katharine Hillard.

The "Golden Legend; or, Lives of the Saints," 7 vols., translated by W. Caxton; edited by F. S. Ellis.

"Sacred and Legendary Art," by Mrs Jameson, 2 vols.

"Legends of the Monastic Orders," by Mrs Jameson, 1 vol.

"Legends of the Madonna," by Mrs Jameson, 1 vol.

"History of Our Lord," by Mrs Jameson and Lady Eastlake, 2 vols.

List of the Principal Artists connected with Umbria

Aliense	pupil of Tintoretto	
Alfani, Domenico di, Paris		1483–1536
Alfani, Orazio		1510–1583
Andrea Pisano		died after 1349
Angelico, Fra		1387–1455
Arnolfo di Cambio		1232–1315 ?
Baccio d'Agnolo	Stalls, S. Agostino, Perugia	1462–1543
Baroccio		1528–1612
Bernardino di Mariotto	working between	1502–1521

Berto di Giovanni	living between	1497–1523
Boccati, Giovanni	working	1435 ?–1460 ?
Bonfigli, Benedetto		1425–1496
Botticelli		1444–1510
Campello, Fra Filippo di	Architect Sta. Chiara, Assisi	1232 ?– ?
Caporali, Bartolommeo	working between	1442–1499
Cavallini, Pietro		
Cimabue		1240 ?–1302 ?
Danti, Vincenzo		1530–1576
Doni, Adone		1540–1583 ?
Duccio, Agostino		1418–1481
Eusebio di San Giorgio	working	1492–1527
Fiorenzo di Lorenzo		1440/45–1521/22
Gentile da Fabriano		1360/70–1427/28
Giotto		1266–1337
Giottino	last record of	1369
Giovanni da Bologna		1524–1608
Giovanni Pisano		died 1320
Giunta da Pisa	13th century	
Gozzoli, Benozzo		1420–1498
Guida da Siena	13th century	
Ibi, Sinibaldo	working in	1528
Jacopo, Tedesco	Architect of S. Francesco, Assisi	
Lippi, Fra Filippo		1406–1469
Lorenzetti, Ambrogio		died 1348 ?
Lorenzetti, Pietro		died 1348 ?
Lorenzo di S. Severino	the elder, working	1400–1416 ?
Lorenzo di S. Severino	the younger, working up to	1503
Luca della Robbia		1400–1482
Maitani Lorenzo		1275 ?–1330
Manni, Giannicola		died 1544
Margaritone		1236–1313 ?

Martini, Simone		1285 ?–1344
Masolino		1383 ?–1440 ?
Matteo da Gualdo	working	1468–1503
Melanzio	latter part of 15th century ?	
Melozzo da Forli		1438–1494
Melioranzius, Gregorius	Duomo, Spoleto	?
Memmi Lippo	work dated	1317
Mezzastris (Pier Antonio da Foligno)	working	1468
Mino da Fiesole		1431–1484
Mosca, Francesco	sculptor, Orvieto	
Mosca, Simone	sculptor	1492–1553
Nelli, Ottaviano		died 1444
Niccolo da Foligno		1430–1502 ?
Niccolo Pisano		1206 ?–1280 ?
Nuzzi, Allegretto		died 1374
Oderisio da Gubbio		died 1299
Orcagna, Andrea		1308 ?–1368
Palmerucci, Guido		1280–1345
Perugino		1446–1524
Piero della Francesca		1415 ?–1492
Pietro di Puccio	working	1370–1391
Pinturicchio		1454–1513
Pisano, Andrea		died after 1349
Pisano, Giovanni		died 1320
Pisano, Niccolo		1206 ?–1280 ?
Pollaiuolo, Antonio		1429–1498
Raphael		1483–1520
Reni, Guido		1574–1642
Salsernus	Mosaic, Duomo, Spoleto	1207
Sano di Matteo	working	1407
Santi, Giovanni		1430/40–1494
Sassoferrato		1605–1685
Scalza, Ippolito	working	1579
Sebastiano del Piombo		1485–1547
Signorelli, Luca		1441–1523
Spagna, Lo	working until	1532

Stefano di Bergamo	Stalls, S. Pietro, Perugia	1535
Taddeo di Bartolo		1363–1422
Tiberio d'Assisi	working	1512–1518
Uccello, Paolo		1397–1475
Ugolino di Prete Ilario	working	1364–1378
Ugolino di Maestro Vieri	working	1337
Vasari, Giorgio		1512–1574
Verrocchio, Andrea		1435–1488
Viti, Timoteo		1467–1523

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